

LIFE - LONG EDUCATION



Kaushal Kumar

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ABD PUBLISHERS

Jaipur

(India)

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ISBN 81-85771-16-2

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10047
9.2.2001

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First Edition 2001

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Published by :

ABD Publishers

B-46, Natraj Nagar, Imliwala Phatak, Jaipur-302015 (Rajasthan) India

Ph. : 594705 (O), 762072 (R)

E-mail : oxfordcideth.net

Distribution:

Oxford Book Company

B-46, Natraj Nagar, Imliwala Phatak, Jaipur-302015

Ph. : 594705 (O), 762072 (R)

E-mail : oxfordcideth.net

Laser Type Setting:

Ideal Computers

Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur - 302 004

Ph. : 651697

Printed by :

Tarun Offset Printers

Delhi Ph. : 2260794

Preface

Education should and does continue from birth to death so far as it means the whole process of personality formation. By education we mean not only school education but also all other aspects of education conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, people are educated everywhere and life long. Therefore, the idea of lifelong education seems neither new nor original. We can educate ourselves, in other words, learn during our entire life, if only we have the will to learn.

Lifelong education intends to aim at the whole evolving human being, in all his aspects and throughout his lifetime, because we not only transcend the artificial barriers between academic and non-academic education and the traditional distinction between conventional public education and adult education, because it addresses itself at once to basic education, individual training, the right to assure in the active, cultural and artistic sense, and to providing permanent access to educational means where the intellectually and physically reactive potential of man can be developed.

The concept of lifelong education is making a far stronger mark on the many achievements characteristic of speedy and varied developments in adult education. The very inadequacy of school education to cope with the rapid evolution of society makes the principle of lifelong

education the only realistic alternative and the only meaningful objective, since the battle of ideas has already been won. This transitional situation explains why empirical achievements tend more or less consciously to use lifelong education as their term of reference, as the grain around which to crystallize.

The community schools or the functional literacy centres have often become centres of renewal and technical and cultural leadership for the environment, and therefore have been able to set off the necessary awareness and motivation processes—the necessary mechanism for changing behaviour and outlook—and are the very foundations of an institutionalized lifelong education.

The present book 'Lifelong Education' is concerned with all aspects about the subject and the methods of teaching and learning. Students, teachers, educationists and educational administrators, besides policy planners and teacher-trainers will find this work most informative.

Editor

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Lifelong Education

What we have not done yet is to investigate from a narrower perspective whether there is not a self-described. A suitable way to answer this question would seem to offer itself immediately through the other history of the term humanist than the one that has occupied our attention so far. From this alternative perspective it actually comes to describe both a kind of learning and the kind of scholarship related to this learning. The 'humanist' as a scholar was one dedicated to 'learning for learning's sake, otium, remaining within the limits of human knowledge, aimed at neither transcendence nor particle purposes. The 15th century 'humanista' in the Italian universities studied and taught *humanae litterae*. These usages of the term in its different derivations within the other European languages have remained constant since through the centuries that have followed, notwithstanding some temporary aberrations. One would therefore be traditional humanistic curriculum must constitute the central focus of any current self-defined humanist education programme if any exist. It therefore comes as some surprise to read the following comment:

Humanistic education is more a diffuse and multiplex phenomenon than one that may be sharply caught and defined. Although in its own apologies it distinguishes itself quite dramatically from other educational systems, its rationale is elusive and the educationist must find his way through a series of exhortations, general statements on education and life, anecdotes of personal success, and recipes for particular

methods. One rarely finds extended statements of educational theory that give enough detail and elaborated justification with which to concur or not.

For it is immediately clear that the article from which it is taken cannot be referring to the same tradition.

In point of fact Williams and Foster, the joint authors of the article, while making this evaluation, cite as their point of reference an entry that appeared in the 1971-72 Education Index, where mention is made of a 'new' humanism in current educational thought. Not only does this 'new' humanism show no continuity with this tradition, it also shows no continuity whatsoever with that faith in the power of human institutions to contribute towards the betterment of life which Baier identified as part of the modern conception of humanism inherited from the Renaissance. On the contrary it is extremely sceptical, if not downright antagonistic, towards all forms of institutionalized learning, most especially schooling, and emphasises the value of personal autonomy in its most radical form. In fact, for the roots of the kind of theoretical individualism suggested by the 'new' humanism one needs to go back to the anti-Enlightenment naturalistic philosophy of Rousseau's *Emile*, which similarly aligns itself 'in favour of the individual as an educational good in itself, and as prior to consideration of the individual's contribution to society'.

Power, independently of Williams and Foster, writes about 'romantic' humanism as constituting a distinctive if ill-defined trend in contemporary educational theory. He also attributes to this trend the same characteristics attributed to the 'new' humanism by the latter, distinguishing within it the same kind of radical subjectivism and eventually describing its as follows:

What we shall call romantic humanism exudes an abundance of self-sufficiency and self-confidence. Tilting on the verge of arrogance it turns its back on the past, finds nothing of much worth in tradition, and justifies the motives of each person to

find his own satisfaction in a face-to-face confrontation with reality.

It is interesting to note that the basis of the 'arrogance' identified by Power arises not from a faith in science but in a faith in the self-sufficiency of the individual. It denotes a courage which was impossible for the philosopher of the polis, who was firmly convinced that the very nature of human being is social, and is unacceptable for philosophers who present a communal ideal of man, like Marx and Dewey. It was forced, briefly, on the 'skeptical' philosophers of the Hellenistic schools, nearly conclusively buried by Christian theology, and finally revived in a most resounding manner by Nietzsche's pronouncement that 'God is dead'; his metaphor not only for the dissolution of religious faith but for 'the devaluation of our hitherto highest values' - those of the Enlightenment as much as any other. Nietzsche's pronouncement, of course, later became the point of departure of atheistic existentialism.

Existentialists have consistently rejected the notion that their analysis of the human condition properly constitutes a 'philosophy' in the usual sense of the word where it applies to the systematization of thought into the disciplined formal expression of theories. Their position is that no such systematization is possible, nor is it required, to this extent they even reject the necessity of science. They argue that the generalizations to which systematization leads are necessarily false, and this is a view that is tacitly echoed by the 'new' or 'romantic' humanists. Both Williams and Foster, and Power, in fact, onserve the discomfort of 'romantic' humanists with philosophy, and Power confirms that their orientation instead towards the kind of psychology connected with the personality theories of Rogers and Maslow, is pursued at the expense of philosophy which 'scarcely gets a look-in'. The general situation in this respect is that.

Few humanists are eager to shape any systematic philosophy of education, and many of them worry about the stultifying effect such systematization could have on education aspirations.

For this reason one cannot properly speak of 'romantic' humanism as constituting a 'school', though the word movement may not be inapt since it allows for a greater degree of permissiveness in the ranks, though even a movement needs some coordinating ideas and principles in order to be so defined beyond the rejection of a systematic philosophy of education. The radical writers identified with it by the authors represent, in fact, a group brought together not by any unified perspective on educational practice but by their general dissatisfaction with 'school' and other manifestations of institutionalized learning, a dissatisfaction that, at times, borders on nihilism. So the resemblances are clearly there, and it comes as no surprise when Poser suggests that if one were to 'shop around' for a philosophical position with which 'romantic' humanism could align itself, the natural choice would be existentialism, for, as he says, it alone has the temperament that would appeal to the new humanism's 'romantic' orientations. At the same time, however, we are also warned by Power not to make too much of this fact of this fact because, he says, though 'romantic' humanists may eventually claim existentialism as their creed, this is not the case at the moment, nor is any such alignment imminent judging by the actual state of the movement.

Existentialism

Richmond similarly says about lifelong education that 'Philosophically, it might be designated as an existentialist or phenomenological view'. At the same time a comment reminiscent of Power's about 'romantic' humanist education warns immediately that 'it seems advisable to refrain from any such pretentious labelling. It will also be recalled that when Cropley described humanism as the 'philosophy' of the lifelong education programme he put the word 'philosophy' inside inverted commas, and said that the programme in fact could only 'loosely' be called humanistic. Again, it needs to be noted that when Richmond attaches the lifelong education programme

philosophically with existentialism he does so without making any further qualifications; it must therefore be assumed that he is alluding not to some tendency within the movement but to the movements as a whole.

But it is clear that, on this last point, he cannot be right. This is because we have already uncovered different traits within the literature of the movement that have nothing to do with existentialism. And yet Richmond's observation is not wrong; it simply focuses on the literature from a different perspective to Cropley's and Ireland's. One recalls, for instance, in Cropley's own definition of lifelong education according to the UIE literature, that he refers to the ultimate aim of the programme as 'the self-fulfillment of each individual. The question was raised in that place as to how self-fulfillment could be conceived, in particular whether it can make space for the community, as Dave's lifelong education programme demands. If self-fulfillment is conceptualized subjectively, then it will be the basis for a different lifelong education programme with orientations towards existentialism. Still, nowhere does one encounter any explicit statement of lifelong education as an existentialist programme. So Richmond can only be reading it into the movement's literature, just as it is only to be read into the 'romantic' humanist educational theory. Or else the literature itself could be aligned with 'romantic' humanist theory directly perhaps?!

Before any incursions are made into this possibility, however, it is first necessary to say a little bit more about the relevant aspects of existentialism as a philosophy. It has already been observed that its progenitors are taken to be Kierkegaard and Nietzsche. The first was primarily concerned with the question 'How can I become a Christian?' while the second asked the apparently contrary question how it is possible to live a Godless existence. The point of similarity between the two lies in what they both denied, namely the standard or conventional solutions to the problems they posed,

insisting instead on complete subjectivity—each and every individual must come upon truth and come to terms with it in his own way unaided by the pronouncements of popular opinion. For both the standard sought is that of authenticity. Kierkegaard's individual become authentic to the extent that his relationship with God is personalized,, since although conformity with God's will is still the end of man, the content of that will cannot be known to humanity in the shape of universal principles. For Kierkegaard, in fact, the individual as a particular is higher than the universal and is justified against it not the other way around.[10] While for Nietzsche authenticity lies in the pursuit of the *ubermensche*, of that 'higher self' which 'does not however lie deeply hidden within you, but immeasurably high above you, or, at least, above that which you usually take as yourself. For both, the authentic person is one who 'chooses himself', and authentic existence is one based on faith and commitment to it, rather than science and reason. This is how Passmore describes the convergence of their two philosophies into existentialism:

Both philosophers concern themselves passionately, if diversely, with the human situation they both reject as a delusion all abstract, objective, systematic, philosophy for both of them 'life is more than logic'. It makes all the difference in the world, Nietzsche wrote, 'whether a thinker stands in personal relation to his problems, in which he sees his destiny, his need, and even his highest happiness, or can only feel and grasp them impersonally, with the tentacles of cold, prying thought'. That might be Kierkegaard talking - or any existentialist. Again, both Kierkegaard and Nietzsche see in 'essences' a device men use to tame the world, to reduce it to something indifferent and stable. The 'real' world, they tell us, is historical, 'existential', revealed as such to the courageous human agent, but lying beyond the understanding of abstract thought, which always, by its nature, deals in types. And Nietzsche, like Kierkegaard, bitterly attacks the Philistine, the mediocre man, whose highest ideal is to submerge himself - to do 'what is done', to be 'Man' as distinct from 'a man'.

The more representative figures in existentialist thought since have kept faith with this programme, emphasizing the subjective element in human life and relating it to the crucial questions of freedom, decision and responsibility as they converge on the problem of personal or authentic choice. Such choice is rendered difficult, according to the existentialist, by our 'facticity'; by the fact that we are thrown into a world that predates our existence and is not of our own making. We are, furthermore, made to struggle within it because of the very nature of our own Being which is different from that of other beings also thrown into the arena of life in the sense that we alone are self-conscious about our own existential predicament. Or, put in another way, human beings are the only beings whose existence is an issue for themselves, they are therefore the only beings whose relationship with the world is typically that of 'care'. This means that choice is always a necessary condition of human life, it is always, to some extent, inescapable, but it is only authentic choice that enables us to 'stand out' as individuals. Authentic choice, on the other hand, is the contrary of 'bad faith', and 'bad faith' consists as much in our failure to recognize our personal autonomy of choice as in our failure to recognize the significance of other moral consciousnesses in our lives besides our own.

Macquarrie, in fact, says that probably all the leading existentialists pay at least lip-service to the truth that man exists as a person only in a community of persons. But, at the same time, he continues to say: 'in the main they are concerned with the individual whose quest for authentic selfhood focuses on the meaning of personal being', to the extent in fact that they find themselves involved in paradox. This is because contrasting with their lip-service to the essential communality of human beings most existentialists retain a characteristic attitude to the 'Other' as one who, of necessity, by his very being, sabotages my possibility to make choice that are free. Within it the primordial relationship in which human beings

stand to each other and to the rest of the community is one of conflict, as the 'Other' poses genuine limitations to the pursuit of personal authenticity. Furthermore, this latent antagonism between the individual and the rest is implied by the very fact of existentialism's subjectivism, from the very fact that each person is forced to pursue his own authentic life project *ex nihilo* and for himself. Thus:

Since another human being cannot be the effort of transcendence that I am, and within which I experience and give meaning to my world, he can only know me and my world in the objective mode and this knowing collapses the properly evaluative dimension of my actions and leaves them stranded as so many natural events awaiting another evaluative interpretation which may or may not coincide with mine.

Thus, the most common criticism levelled against existentialism from the point of view that is educationally significant is that it lacks any real social or moral explanation, and this is because existentialists are typically uncomfortable when it comes to measuring the criterion of authentic existence against the essential communality of h human being. Van Cleave Morris summarizes the content of the paradox as it presents itself to the existentialist as follows, quoting from Whitmarsh:

The problem which poses is a seemingly elementary one: Is not man thrown into a world which he did not create, confronted with obligations of a communal existence, forced to comply with the imperatives of an anonymous society, and continually faced with the inevitability of his own death-is not man, so conceived, incapable of justifying his own existence?

The existentialist argues that reason seems to drive us to answer 'Yes', to this question, but the puzzle is, says Van Cleave Morris, that this answer is, at the same time unacceptable to man; he is therefore hunted by this paradox which appears unconquerable by reason. The only response that remains to him lies in the blatant thrust beyond reason' towards

a zone where values are created in the act of an individual living a life. Morris says that in such a situation, 'To encourage the young to invade this zone and stake out their own plots there - this is an Existentialist education.

Lifelong education and 'romantic' humanism

A comparison between the characteristics of the educational theory of 'romantic' humanism, as identified by Williams and Foster, and power, and certain prominent aspects of the lifelong education literature reveals some very close similarities of viewpoint between them. With reference to the former, both sets of authors agree on its main theoretic framework such as exists, that the major influences on it come from the humanistic psychology movement of the 1960s, more particularly from the work of Rogers and Maslow whose psychotherapies are based on fulfillment theories of the personality. At the same time Williams and Foster identify within it a rationale couched in a sociological context characterised by two main factors; a stress on the rapidity of change in the environment calling for a new type of educated person able to cope with such change, and, an attempt to mitigate the effects of alienation on human beings living in technological environments. The thrust of humanistic psychology in response to these twin factors is toward a theory of motivation, with an emphasis on the growth of Self-awareness as a n ultimate good.

Williams and Foster further point out that, eventually, this emphasis, as is to be expected, is directed towards objectives that focus upon the self-realisation principle in life, a principle which implies that the thrust of human activities in healthy persons is towards growth, fulfillment and creativity. The principle, they say, is given its theoretical shape by Rogers, who Crystallizes his philosophy of the person as he works through therapy. In accordance with the aims of this therapy:

The client will move away from facades; he will move away from 'oughts'; he will move away from pleasing others; he will

move toward self-direction, toward being process, toward being complexity, toward openness to experience, toward acceptance of others and toward trust of self.

And Maslow similarly emphasises this 'auto-centred' approach, his theoretic approach being, like that of Rogers, radically subjectivist. For both, the focus is on the individual who, for good measure and consistently with naturalistic philosophies, is also regarded a priority as being essentially good and perfectible.

As in therapy, the central aim of the educational outlook of 'romantic' humanism, the authors continue, is to make the learner progressively more self-aware, more in touch with himself, his own uniqueness, how he differs from others. There is therefore a centering of authority within the learner himself which, taken together with the therapeutic pedagogy implied by humanistic psychology, evidently transforms the typical role of the educator away from its traditional form. So that it actually comes to resemble that of the therapist, its central task being to develop within the learner an attitude or responsibility towards his own learning.

The lifelong education literature shares all these tendencies, beginning with the sociological context. Lifelong education theory similarly locates its own rationale and justification within societies that are undergoing change at an accelerated rate pressed on directly or indirectly by the effects of a scientific and technological revolution which has assumed the proportions of a veritable 'knowledge explosion in our times. This knowledge explosion, in turn, renders the traditional view of education as the transmission of a stock of knowledge from one generation to the next and as the forming of a stereotyped personality irrelevant. Thus the Faure report speaks about the need for a new education for a new individual, one who both understands change in its different effects and dimensions, and is able to cope with it and turn its potential to positive outcomes.

From a narrower angle than the above Power status that the common theme of 'romantic' humanism is exhibited most clearly in its criticism of traditional schooling. And this again is another clear point of similarity it shares with the lifelong education programme. One recalls among Dave's concept characteristics one that refers to the lifelong education programme as providing an antidote to the shortcomings of the existing formal education system. And the criticism goes far beyond that of historical irrelevance just referred to. In his book on Gelpi, Ireland provides a synthesized list of the objections against existent schooling recurrent in the lifelong education literature and these are, in essence, very close to the ones attributed to romantic humanists by Williams and Foster, and Power. Thus Power, for instance, says that the main charge romantic humanists level against schools is that they are little more than assembly lines perpetuating a conspiracy against individuality by accepting a commission to produce a standard product, this neglect of individuality being typically described as dehumanizing for the learner. And the same accusation is made on the side of lifelong education by Lengrand who similarly complains that no consideration is allowed in schools for individual differences of character. On the contrary pupils who do not conform to pattern become marginal, as do those whose rate of development is slower than the average. Moreover, he argues, the need for selection prevails over pedagogical considerations and failure is thus institutionalized at the cost of senseless wastage of intellectual and monetary investment. Education should, Lengrand says, allow every individual to develop in accordance with his own nature and as a function of learning capacities that are his own, not in terms of ready-made models suited for one kind of personality, that of the 'gifted' pupil who learns easily and does not question the school order. Finally, and from a slightly different point of view, he charges schools, as presently organized, of resting on a truncated conception of the human personality in that the capacity to acquire knowledge is given precedence over

all other terms of expression: emotional, social, aesthetic or physical. they therefore adopt a learning programme which not only has the practical effect of fragmenting the personality but also of separating the individual from life.

All these tendencies are appearing at a time when, lifelong education theories argue, the human personality is already constantly menaced with 'abstraction' threatened with falling victim to elements with our contemporary civilization that conspire to divide it, to break up its unity. Lengrand is not the only one who emphasises these 'alienating' effects of the modern situation on persons, suchodolski and others do so also. In addition, however, Lengrand, like the Faure report, reportedly accuses the school of contributing greatly to the 'dissociation of the parts of the personality' which is the main symptom of this alienation. This is because, corresponding with the priority given to knowledge acquisition, the school arbitrarily isolates one aspect of the personality, the intellectual aspect in its cognitive form, as being alone educationally relevant while the other aspects are forgotten or neglected and either shrink to an embryonic state or develop in a disordered fashion, threatening the very balance of the personality. In this situation, Lengrand argues, some essential elements of the human person are actually either atrophied by schooling or else are temporarily, and even, sometimes, permanently, paralysed. While the Faure report says:

The neglect and disdain from which some elements of educational programmes continue to suffer, the deficiencies and imbalance of curricula appear to us to be among the most serious symptoms of the disease of which education is both the symptom and the cause. The separation of its intellectual, physical, aesthetic, moral and social components is an indication of alienation, undervaluation and mutilation of the human person.

And again we find this tendency to separate education

from life similarly constitutes the grounds for serious complaints levelled against schooling by 'romantic' humanists. Couching their objections similarly in the language of 'relevance' they ask how schooling can be educationally relevant when in schools 'thought' is falsely divorced from 'life' which, they argue, is the crucibles of real not fictional problems. And, in any case, they insist, the question of relevance is not one that can be decided by the school since, in fact, it is really a personal one and as such requires a private verdict not a statement of policy. For these reasons there is a tendency among 'romantic' humanists to conclude that traditional schooling is largely a waste of time while, at the same time and for the most part, drawing back, like the lifelong education movement, from the inference that the whole concept of school be abolished.

The Faure report, in effect, regards the deschooling theses as an 'extreme one based on the erroneous postulate that 'education constitutes an independent variable in each society. What is in question for lifelong education theorists is not whether school in itself is important or necessary, but whether it is a good thing in its current form. From this point of view the problem is not only that current schooling preserves that outworn formulae of the past but also that it continues to project the same dichotomies of the past, and there can be no remedy for this situation, lifelong education theorists hold before schools recognize that, at a time when abstract knowledge is coming to be viewed more and more as part of a continual process acting on and reacting to daily life, new solutions are required. For on such recognition depends the further recognition that the common stream of education in schools should combine theory, techniques and practice, intellectual and manual labour. The dislocation of these different combinations constitutes in concrete form the much criticized separation of education from life ; its consequence in psychological terms is that the child's personality is split

between two worlds each discordant with the other: one in which it learns like a disembodied creature and the other in which it fulfills itself through some anti-educational activity. A conclusive comment on this issue is that:

most education systems do not help their clients - whether they be youngsters or adults - to discover themselves, to understand the components of their conscious and unconscious personalities, the mechanisms of the brain, the operation of the intelligence, the laws governing their physical development, the meaning of their dreams and aspirations, the nature of their relations with one another and with the community at large. Education thus neglects its basic duty of teaching men the art of living, loving and working in a society which they must create as an embodiment of their ideal.

Yet another point of agreement between the two sides relates to their criticism of the monopoly the school has always exercised on education. That monopoly, both argue, helps to conceal the insufficiency of what is on offer as against the real educational needs of contemporary individuals. Both, therefore, emphasise the educational importance of the wider society. Romantic humanists, rather surprisingly, insist that social interaction is the great educator; but the explanation could be that they view such interaction as a way to curb the school's pretensions. Similarly, the Faure report argues that the school must be transcended by broadening the educational function to the dimensions of society as a whole. It quotes Plutarch, in this connection, who said that the city is the best teacher, approvingly, and, of course, devotes much space to the elaboration of the principles and practices of the learning society. Williams and Foster refer to the seven goals which Roberts has claimed to be the main ones for a humanistic education. These concern:

personal development creative behavior, inter-personal awareness, subject orientation, specific context, method of teaching and teachers and administrators.

Roberts goals they point out, are further development by a set of imperatives designed by Fairfield to implement them in educational settings. In the context of the comparative analysis that is the object of this section, what is especially interesting about these goals and imperatives, because they are so close in essence to those distinguished in various places by lifelong education theorists, is their provenience. They are, Williams and Foster say, inspired : by the Social Education movement, which sought to foster cooperative individualism through education; by Progressive Education, whose common principles were seen by Dewey as the expression and cultivation of individuality, free activity, learning through experience, acquiring new skills as a means to attaining ends, concentration on the here and now, and acquaintance with a changing world; and by the Open Education movement which encourages an equally active role for teacher and learner in order to develop greater classroom democracy with an emphasis on a cooperative sharing environment.

Lifelong education and existentialism

Evidently we could continue to cite other statements and positions held in common in confirmation of the fact that romantic humanism as an educational theory shares its more consistent orientations with elements in the lifelong education literature. The identification of this convergence between the two is made more consistent by their separate identification with existentialist thinking. This is not enough however to establish with any firmness the relationship of lifelong education theory itself with existentialism, nor to explain the nature of that relationship. This is the matter to which we must turn next in this section, and we can start by observing that within the lifelong education literature there is the same pronounced awareness of the psychological pressures to which people living in an environment of accelerating change are exposed, particularly when the technology is used in a socially irresponsible or malicious manner and is turned to utterly

materialistic purposes, as one finds in existentialist writings. There is the same sensitivity to the dehumanizing effect of a consumeristic mass culture that is shared also by existentialist writers. Jaspers most especially, and that makes a personalized and utterly individualistic outlook appear as the only intelligible alternative to the threat of alienation posed by such a culture to the individual personality and, more especially, its sense of identity.

Reference has already been made to Suchodolski's brand of humanism. The central contention of Suchodolski's essay is that people today are faced with the threat of alienation from many sources in both capitalist and socialist countries. Lifelong education, or indeed any positive educational action, is impossible, he argues, where these conditions of alienation exist; the first strategy of the 'learning society', therefore, must be to overcome the forces of alienation within itself by reassessing its own cultural values. The existentialist, of course, with his profound distrust of collective action, does not believe this strategy possible, and a somewhat similar doubt seems to lie at the core of the thinking within the 'pragmatist' trend in lifelong education theory, which does appear to hold out hope of internal revolutions through education, but which also pins its faith in this possibility on 'progressive' individuals rather than on any form of collective action. The existentialist will respond to the threat of the modern world by emphasising the value of the personal and subjective both in terms of educational cultural action, and his counterpart among lifelong education theorists is to be found in such as Paul Lengrand, who similarly holds that Modern man is the victim of abstraction, and for whom the appropriate educational response does not focus on collective action but is similarly personalized. Lengrand, in fact, affirms the value of individuality in all its forms and per se. He argues that before the 'challenges of this age' which a highly technologized culture provokes, there are two responses open to the individual

that correspond, in turn, to the existentialist's distinction between an inauthentic and an authentic existence; either passivity, an attitude of resignation and surrender, 'watching the cauldron of doctrines and beliefs without great concern over their contradictions and changes of front', or the acceptance of responsibility, the recognition of 'the obligation to be oneself'.

One thing that is clearly attractive to lifelong education theorists about existentialism is that it offers, as Lengrand's argument indicates, an ultimate justification for their programme, for it makes education the price of 'freedom' one needs to pay in a continuously challenging social milieu: 'In one sense, the modern individual is condemned to autonomy, obligated to freedom', and this obligation carries with it the price of education - 'education which never ceases, which mobilises every capacity and every resource of being, whether from the intellect or from the heart and imagination'. In fact, lifelong education is made necessary for Lengrand by the fact that it is only by being in a situation where one can fight the obstacles and challenges continuously met with in a meaningful way that one is demonstrating one's humanity, and in each case the nature of the combat is a purely personal one and requires personal solutions. From this point of view, he believes that the best that the educator can do for the learner is to put him in a position where he can fend for himself, where he comes to be autonomous, and the same contention is made by the Faure report. Self-directed learning is therefore made the general aim of all formal learning by both, and indeed by all lifelong education theorists besides, who revert to the concept of 'educability' which, in turn, is translated into different conditions for the achievement of learning autonomy, which include the appropriate forms of motivation and skin, to give it form.

In effect, having rejected the view that education has primarily to do with the transmission of knowledge, or of a

culture, or has anything to do with imposition of any kind. Lengrand concludes, employing an existentialist jargon, that:

Education is not an addendum to life imposed from outside. It is no more an asset to be gained than is culture. To use the language of philosophers, it lies not in the field of 'having' but in that of 'being'. The being in a state of 'becoming' at each different stage and in varying circumstances is the true subject matter of education.

If the individual is always 'becoming' then his education, which intimately concerns his 'being in a state of 'becoming'', must always be in some sense incomplete and ongoing because the very nature of his existence demands it. The same conclusion derived from considering the nature of being is also reached from the existentialist point of view, where being is characterized by the constant need to choose, since choice is always to some extent demanded of the individual as a condition of life itself. Even in the most restrictive of circumstances, existentialists tell us, we are obliged to choose, since, however restrictive these may be, a minimal possibility of choice is always logically possible. At the same time, however, this 'formal' autonomy is meaningless because it is merely logical, it has no human or moral value. It is only the effective autonomy of authentic individual choice that has such value and is therefore of worth. It is thus that Lengrand and Suchodolski insist upon the value of 'responsibility'. It is, they say, absolutely incumbent upon the individual to take over his own cultural and educational project as the very assertion of his humanity. Thus Lengrand insists that it is vital both for the learner and for the educator to have an authentic conception of both. From the point of view of culture this amounts to an understanding that:

A man's culture is the sum total of the efforts and experiences through which he has become steadily more himself. These efforts and experiences, even if he shares them with thousand and millions of human beings, are his own and relevant only to

himself. Culture only exists to the extent to which it has been lived and tested within the particular history of a man who is leading an existence, who is building a life, who is conscious of the universe and who takes part in its shaping by his own decisions. Contrasting with this conception of culture there is another 'geographical' outlook which the individual is continuously presented with and which he needs to avoid if he is to affirm himself as a person, a culture of 'bad faith'. the 'geographical' concept of culture sees culture not as a personal possession but as a 'self-contained domain comprising the sum total of knowledge accumulated over the centuries'. As a domain one has the option of centering or staying outside. Moreover, once one enters one comes to occupy more or less of this territory depending on chance and other factors. Thus, the 'geographical' concept of culture divides the world into the cultural rich and the cultural poor, the privileged and the victims, the initiates and the uninitiated.

Corresponding to these different conceptions of culture, there are for Lengrand two ways in which the human phenomenon can be viewed, both of which are significant to the manner in which the educator may choose to approach education; one is the 'sociological', the other is the 'psychological' or 'philosophical'. The first, he says, is 'monopolised by the forces at work, by structures and institutions, and it is those they consider important'. The second, that which, he says, should impel educators, is:

Conscious primarily of human existence in its individual form. What interests them above all is the single, unique, irreplaceable life-story of an individual, the awakening of a consciousness, the whole set ways of thinking, feeling, and establishing relationships with himself and with the world which are peculiar to the individual, his own particular way of tackling and solving the problems he encounters both outside and within himself, which is, and always will be, different from other people's ways.

Indeed the orientation the practice of education should

take once we get these perspectives right practically suggests itself of its own accord. For, Lengrand argues, the psychological/philosophical approach clearly assumes that the aim of the educator is to help form the mind, the body and the character, and where else, he asks somewhat rhetorically, do mind, body and character belong but 'within the restricted and yet limitless space of a particular individual in the context of his own being and becoming?

This individualist and auto-centred philosophy of education comes strongly across from other quarters within the lifelong education literature also. Thus we find the Faure report declaring that 'Teaching, contrary to traditional ideas and practice, should adapt itself to the learner; the learner should not have to bow to pre-established rules for teaching', and 'The new educational ethos makes the individual the master and creator of his own cultural progress', and finally, '(education) is no longer focused on the learner, nor anyone, nor anything else. It must necessarily proceed from the learner'. And if we return to Cropley's defining principles of lifelong education is recognised by the UIE, referred to in earlier pages, we find the same reference to the self-fulfillment of each individual as the ultimate aim of education, and to the value of having the skill and the motivation to engage in self-directed learning activities placed above all others.

Can the life long education programme be an existentialist one?

The question is, can the lifelong education programme be a straightforwardly existentialist one? One must beware not to confuse it with the different question whether existentialism can supply the basis for a lifelong education programme, which it clearly can. The issue it is meant to raise is not the latter one but whether the programme of the lifelong education movement, its operational definition in particular, as it appears in the literature, can be aligned with existentialist philosophy thus resolving the ideological ambiguities described in the giving form to the programme's humanism. It needs to be

understood also that the question is about the theoretical resolvment of the programme not the practical; in other words it is about theoretical possibilities. It asks whether the programme would continue to remain internally coherent and consistent if it is aligned with existentialism, and an answer to it must have two parts; first, it must involve consideration of the difficulties brought against existentialist thought with regards to its general compatibility with educational practice - in other words, it needs to see whether the credentials of existentialism as an educational theory are right; second, it must see whether there are not any a priori objections to the attachment of the movement's programme with existentialist thought based on some conflict of defining principles between the two.

Starting with the first, there are evidently serious difficulties involved with bringing existentialist thought in general to bear on education practices, because such practices are typically assumed to involve institutional arrangements, namely the presence of schools and teachers; these, in turn, are considered indispensable in any sophisticated society for the transmission of its culture, on which its very continued existence depends. A consistent existentialist outlook, it would appear, must logically view schools or any form of collective learning within some form of institutionalized framework as undesirable. Power says:

At best, existentialism's advice to education is vague. After advertng to existentialism's fundamental subjectivism and pluralism, not much remains on the level of philosophical principle for application to any theory of schooling.

It would also seem that existentialist thought, with its emphasis on subjectivism as the only truth, must be totally incompatible with any formal education since the latter implies the presence of an educator acting upon the learner. The discussion of the other section, in fact, raised the point that 'romantic' humanists, who are of the same theoretic temperament of the

existentialists, are typically unhappy with the very concept of school, while they embrace a conception of education as a kind of therapy involving a one-to-one relationship between learner and facilitator. That they are nevertheless reluctant to throw over the concept completely accounts for their unwillingness to take over existentialist thought.

From another point of view one needs to recall the point made earlier that existentialism, with its psychological orientations, lacks a proper social philosophy; a proper theory of society. Thus while existentialists describe to us the kind of society we already have and furnish us with a phenomenological critique of the individual's existential condition within it, they nowhere tell us what, in effect, it out to be in order to improve that condition; this is because they hold an aversion for prescription or theory. In fact, as we saw earlier, the lack of any social theory in existentialist thought does not so much denote a gap, a lacuna within it, as a necessary consequent of it. The question is, can an adequate educational theory be constructed in the absence of a social philosophy?

The difficulties with conceptualizing an existentialist education programme grows when education means schooling. For if by education we mean 'school', then it is difficult to see how an existentialist philosophy can find a legitimate defense against the difficulties outlined above. For 'school' is historically a social construct, a human invention of an institutional kind which presupposes the involvement of a cooperative enterprise with shared interests and beliefs, and a shared ethic; the need for all of which the existentialist denies, and the value of which he typically rejects. But if education is understood in a wider sense then 'school' does a social philosophy continue to be required for an education programme?

Rousseau has furnished a theoretical account of how education can dispense with a social framework in *Emile*, while

Illich and others have proposed a de-schooling philosophy. The stock reply to the former's naturalism is, however, that the social is reintroduced through the presence of Emile's tutor, while Illich replaces the school with learning networks that are 'new educational institutions'. Within a more contemporary and practical viewpoint, an increasingly large amount of adult education is being done in the Freirian manner, outside 'schools', without a formal curriculum, and with facilitators acting out therapeutic roles rather than traditional teachers - but this renders the learning situation, if anything, not less but increasingly social, and Freire's pedagogy, or andragogy, is backed by a social analysis and an alternative philosophy. Finally, not even a social doctrine of 'authenticity' can replace a social philosophy proper, as Van Cleve Morris suggests it can do, for the very concept of an 'authentic society' where 'each individual takes personal responsibility for the law he obeys, the conventions he consents to, the values he appropriates for his own life, is as impossible as the possibility of a General Will which will always reflect in practice the views of every single member of the society whose it is, which does not demand compromise of its members, and is not sometimes prepared to 'force them to be free'.

On the other hand, societies have dispensed with schools in the past where all their specialized needs could be catered for by the training of a limited few by tutors. However, they were clearly not democratic societies, and the arrangement would most certainly fail to satisfy the increasing demands for specialized learning the characterizes all kinds of modern societies. As was pointed out earlier, Illich has suggested, theoretically, that societies can be deschooled. But again, though the suggestion is made seriously as a reaction to the effects on society which the pervasiveness of schooling engenders according to his own analysis, deschooling is not a possibility that he eventually canvasses adequately since his commendable efforts to combine individual freedom of action

in learning with social cooperation must assume, in the absence of school or any formal substitute, that the ability for autonomous learning is either something one is born with or one can effectively win for oneself, or is something that can be left to peer interaction or parental guidance, and whereas the former assumption defies all evidence to the contrary, the latter leaves the child to the mercy of chance and parental good-will, which may not in itself be a bad thing in a perfect society where everybody's motives are the right ones, but not otherwise, in this imperfect world of ours where children often need to be protected from the intentions of grown ups, including their own parents.

At any rate we have already seen that lifelong education theorists do not accept the move towards deschooling society. On the contrary they are committed by their programme to a revised theory of schooling that fits with their reconceptualizing of education itself as a lifelong matter. Indeed, as we have seen, referring to the existent schooling system, one of Dave's 'concept characteristics' speaks of the lifelong education programme as an 'antidote to (its) shortcomings' rather than as a radical substitution of it, and another retains the importance of 'formal institutions of education' as 'one of the agencies of lifelong education', though not the sole one. And existentialist philosophy, as our earlier discussion showed, can contribute nothing to these designs.

However even more fundamental than its theoretical incompatibility with the concept of school, which as we have seen, is considered indispensable by the lifelong education programme, the existentialist point of view is incompatible with the very having of an educational programme, lifelong or of any other description, since any programme, even a personal one, constitutes Dave's 'concept characteristics' and the radical individualism of existentialist thought. A response to it consistent with the latter would be to avoid such exercises as

Dave's. But this is not a move open to the movement. Not that, in the eventuality, it would cease to remain a movement, for movements, as was observed earlier, can admit to different degrees of cohesion, the move is not blocked on logical grounds, but that systematization is essential for policy-making, and, as we have seen, if anything unifies the lifelong education movement it is agreement over the fact, which is also considered the distinctive feature of the movement, that its conceptualization of the otherwise bare idea of education as something lasting for life includes the institutionalizing of that idea.

The fact that the lifelong education programme presupposes the need for social and political action in order to operationalize the concept also forestalls what would otherwise appear as an attractive compromise. It could be suggested that the existentialist outlook be left as a description of the adult component of the programme, with-perhaps a type of schooling that would lead to 'authenticity', that would awaken awareness in the learner—existential awareness of himself as a single subjectivity present in the world', as its other component.

Also, a connected objection to this form of compromise solution would be that, conceived of in this way, as a two-tier programme, one would be violating one of the programme's other fundamental principles, namely that within its perspective, the educational process should be viewed as a unified whole, as integrated both vertically and horizontally. In effect, a two-tier programme would simply resort to the situation current in most countries today, and to the situation in educational theory prior to the advent of the movement; before, that is, the lifelong education theorists took the bare idea that education should be for life and turned it into a programme. It would simply regard lifelong education as a purely personal project left to the perception of truly 'authentic' individuals without any social or institutional support. And this is a consequence none of the theorists within the movement would

accept, for it would mean, effectively, the abrogation of the movement's programme. it would mean denying lifelong education the separate conceptual space its theorists have worked to give it within educational theory. Moreover, it would mean giving up the policy prescriptions, with which they have filled that space and denying the very case they have made for these prescriptions.

In sum, it is clear that the lifelong education programme needs to look elsewhere than towards existentialism for its philosophical statement, though the attractions of existentialism are not to be denied, and its positive insights can still be creatively included. Among the former one could include the fact that existentialism avoids the problem of ideology by rejecting the need for one, and this makes it an attractive proposition for any who deliberately seek to avoid ideological commitment while asserting the value of individual freedom; both considerations that weight heavily on UNESCO- sponsored projects or documents. But the price to be paid for these 'advantages' is an impossible one, for theoretic consistency demands that they can be won only through the effective sacrifice of the programme itself. Indeed, there exist within the lifelong education literature strong statements to the effect that self-education is the only authentic form of education, but the fact that they coexist with further statements and with programmatic principles for the institutionalization of the concept is an indication of the looseness of the theorizing within it, or, at any rate, of the language in which it is expressed—one problem with rhetoric in fact is that it frequently contradicts itself.

On the other hand, the positive points are plenty, though they require more than careful pruning of their existentialist meanings. Indeed they need to be extracted from the whole framework of existentialism in order to bear fruit, and need to be re-introduced within a social philosophy of some kind. This means that the emphasis on individuality needs to be tempered

with some account of a just system of cooperative behaviour within which the individual needs to pursue his own life project and within which the policy aspects of the education programme need to be construed. The phenomenological outlook of existentialism gives us valuable insights into the current state of our technological civilization, which, in themselves, constitute a strong recommendation for continuing learning, but it cannot be satisfactory to define an 'authentic society' simply as one composed of authentic individuals and leave it at that. Existentialism merely tells us that a truly human existence is 'authentic', and that the 'Other' poses a threat to its pursuit, it also tells us that certain social conditions, those prevailing in modern societies, are potentially threatening to individuality. But it cannot tell us which social conditions would make authenticity is, for the existentialist, by definition, pursued against society, whatever its kind - the only answer is subjectivism.

A subjectivist educational philosophy, on the other hand, renders impossible any concept of schooling or any collective educational action - more especially the setting up of education programmes for the purposes of policy making. The subjectivist must view lifelong education as a personal thing. These are factors that render subjectivism unacceptable to the outlook of the lifelong education movement. How do other educational philosophies feature in this respect? The next chapter is a critique of liberal philosophy of education from a lifelong education perspective - it is evidently an important one given the very great influence of the philosophy.

Lifelong education and liberal philosophy of education

Background

'Humanism', 'existentialism'! These are not philosophies that are particularly popular among the philosophers of education of the English - speaking world. Some description of the orientations that have characterized the outlook of these

philosophers was already made in Chapter 1. There the point was made that the overwhelming mass of contributions to Anglo-Saxon philosophy of education comes from a liberal standpoint, whether explicitly declared or thinly disguised behind a facade of 'neutrality' supported by an analytic methodology. Where an ideological debate is recognised, the 'other side' addressed is thinkers of a Marxist persuasion. The point was also made, that within liberal philosophy of education the technical definition of education used is that which includes only formal or intentional learning, the informal and non-formal being commonly considered as not counting as part of people's education, although they may be relevant and valuable for other purposes of life. Which means that liberal philosophers typically operate with a very restricted conception of education; so restricted in fact as to make education simply equivalent with schooling or with the continuation of schooling into universities and other institutions of 'higher learning'.

These twin tendencies to keep education apart from 'life' and to so conceptualize education as to equate it with schooling are perfectly exemplified in an essay written by Michael Oakeshott called 'Education: the engagement and its frustration', where the major 'frustration' to education, for Oakeshott, is that of confusing it with what goes on in life, for in so doing one deprives 'School' of its most vital characteristics.

To begin from the beginning, Oakeshott defines education as:

a specific transaction which may go on between the generations of human beings in which newcomers to the scene are initiated into the world they are to inhabit.

One needs to note the terms used and the positions the statement implies. First, we are told that education is a 'specific transaction'; i.e., it is not a 'transaction' of just any kind, but one of a certain sort. Oakeshott later specifies that what is being 'negotiated' in this transaction 'is not the transfer

of the products of earlier generations to a newcomer, nor is it a newcomer acquiring an aptitude for imitating current adult human performances; it is learning to perform humanly'. One may well feel a bit puzzled as to what Oakeshott could mean by 'learning to perform humanly', and, further on, by being 'initiated into the world they are to inhabit', since a central argument of his essay is that education implies learning that is 'detach(ed) from the immediate, local world of the learner, its current concerns and the directions it gives to his attention'. But his meaning becomes amply clear when he specifies that the inheritance of human achievements and understandings into which education initiates the young is one where these are 'animated, not by the inclinations he brings with him, but by intimations of excellences and aspirations he has never dreamed of, and this is something school alone can provide, since school is the only place where the learner 'may encounter not answers to the 'loaded' questions of 'life', but questions which have never before occurred to him'. Second, there are always, says Oakeshott, at least two sides involved in any given transaction, so, education being a form of transaction, there can be no such thing as 'self education'.

Oakeshott, in fact, specifies that in education the two parties to the transaction are the newcomer or 'postulant to a human condition', 'and the adult as teacher. The home, the nursery and the kindergarten may be places where learning takes place, but they do not count, since such learning is usually ruled, he says, by inclination and is a by-product of play. Education, in fact, he continues, only begins with the appearance on the scene of a teacher with something important to impart which is not immediately connected with the current wants or interests of the learner:

But education, properly speaking, begins when, upon these casual encounters provoked by the contingencies of moods, upon these fleeting wants and sudden enthusiasms tied to circumstances, there supervenes the deliberate initiation of a

newcomer into a human inheritance of sentiments, beliefs, imaginings, understandings and activities. It begins when the transaction becomes 'schooling' and when learning becomes learning by study, and not by chance, in conditions of direction and restraint.

The 'idea of School', Oakeshott contends, is essentially that of a personal transaction between a 'teacher' and a 'learner': 'The only indispensable equipment of 'School' is teachers'. 'School' itself, on the other hand, is typically a 'monastic' institution in respect of being 'a place apart where excellences may be heard because the din of world laxities and partialities is silenced or abated'. Within the school the first lesson the newcomer learns is, therefore, that not all knowledge counts, that learning is not a 'seamless robe', the possibilities are not limitless. Thus a deliberately organized curriculum circumscribes knowledge, or the context that needs to be learnt, into 'disciplines' or 'subjects'. Moreover, school cultivates within the learner certain indispensable habits of life related to the effective 'engagement to learn by study' which becoming educated requires; habits of 'attention, concentration, patience, exactness, courage and intellectual honesty'.

Oakeshott's programme is a typical liberal one. With this fact in mind, it becomes a wonder how many liberal philosophers of education declare that they actually subscribe to the idea of lifelong education, to the extent 'that recently Anthony O'Hear has felt that he could assert that there is no controversy among philosophers over the view that education is for life; this is in fact, he says, how it is held by philosophers as far apart on other matters as Peters and Dewey. The question whether this is indeed so is one that has been tackled elsewhere in some detail; succinctly, it can be shown the O'Hear's statement conceals fundamental discrepancies relating to how these views are held by the two philosophers, which, in effect, render the education programmes with which they work entirely different ones. Peters's position on the matter is clearly

defined and succinctly stated in a statement of his in *Ethics and Education* in which he declares that there are at least two 'truths' contained in the 'slogan' that 'education is for life':

One is that if people are properly educated, so that they want to go on when the pressures are off, the conceptual schemes and forms of appraisal, into which they have been initiated in schools and universities, continue to develop. Another is that 'living' cannot be separated from the ways in which people have learnt to conceive and appraise what they are doing.

In effect, when he describes the statement that 'education is for life' as a slogan, he is accurately reflecting how it is currently held in many quarters, not the least among liberal philosophers of education. For a slogan is a form of exhortation to do something. Where the 'slogan' that 'education is for life' is concerned it is a valuable one because it derives from 'conceptual truths' implied by definition from the concept of education itself, which further implies conceptual schemes and forms of appraisal into which people are initiated in schools and universities and which themselves have intrinsic value. This being the case, it follows logically that they are of a kind which it would be worthwhile to continue to develop for life. But an exhortation or recommendation, however strongly made, is not the same thing as a policy actively pursued. The fact that Peters regard the view that 'education is for life' as a slogan demonstrates that after recommendation he would leave the matter of whether to engage in lifelong education or not up to the individual's personal initiative. He does not see lifelong education as a key idea to be further explored for its policy implications.

At this stage it is important for us to get our perspectives right. The question is not whether Peters and other liberal philosophers of education support the idea that education is for life or not, for many clearly do in some form or other. The real question is, what kind of lifelong education programme do they support? One answer is provided for us in the quotation from

Peters; it is the extension of school and university learning into adult life. So, in effect, even conceived of as a lifelong matter, there is no discontinuity in Peters' statement with the view expressed by Oakeshott that education is conceptually tied with schooling; if it does not take place within the building we call school, it still involves a continuation and development of the kind of learning that goes on in the school, and, one assumes, according to definition, will continue to involve intentional learning under the guidance of teachers.

In actual fact, it may be the case with some liberal philosophers of education that they do, like O'Hear himself explains that he is writing about formal education because this suits the purposes of his book and in order to 'keep things in manageable proportions', the presupposition clearly being that formal education, or schooling is something that can be written about separately and is therefore uninfluenced by these other forms of education he has in mind and that are not formal. And Peters also, similarly acknowledges another sense of education besides that which he writes about, a sense in which it is a 'fluid concept' with a 'loose undifferentiated meaning' as compared to his own. But, like O'Hear, it is not a sense that interests him either. The point being made is that whatever other meanings they allow education, liberal philosophers are interested in one only.

Peters defines education as schooling, as do most other liberal philosophers of education,- as the initiation of the young into a form of life regarded as desirable by teachers -and this is how he writes about it. This is what really matters whatever his other statements that appear to support the idea of lifelong education may be. O' Hear himself is not even interested in verbal consistency at least. Thus he describes his intention in his book as that of providing 'some general account of what it is we will want our children to have learned by the time their education is over. Note, 'by the time their education is over'—this from one who later says, as we have seen, that

the view that education is never over is uncontroversial! I assume that, this being the case, he himself must support it! Surely that consistent statement should therefore be: 'by the time their schooling is over and they are ready to continue with their education'?! But the fact is that 'O' Hear is no more aware of any inconsistency in his position, verbal or otherwise, than is Peters. Like most other liberal philosophers of education who acknowledge that education is essentially for life, both ignore this acknowledgement completely when it comes to writing about education. O' Hear is right in one sense at least for philosophical purposes, as far as he and his fellow philosophers are concerned, education is over when schooling is over, or when the aims of schooling are achieved.

Do these discrepancies mean that liberal philosophers are really paying no more than lip-service to the ideal of lifelong education? Not necessarily so. The real reason could be that the meaning of education they operate with is considered sufficient and that they would pass on to define adult or post school education simply as more of the same thing. This is what, in fact, Peters appears to assume when he says that what is involved in continuing education is wanting to go on developing the conceptual schemes and forms, of appraisal into which one has already been initiated in the school. At the same time, that same meaning imposes its own restrictions on how they can consistently conceive of adult or post-school education; first because within that meaning education is something teachers do to pupils or students, and this fact, as we have said, renders the term 'self-education' and self-contradictory one in their language, second because it comprehends only a limited kind of learning and knowledge, that described by Peters. The liberal philosopher does not deny that other kinds of learning are relevant or valuable in different ways, or cannot take place otherwise than through being taught or teacher directed. What he denies is that they are educationally valuable or significant.

It goes without saying therefore that peters does not even reserve the neglected 'loose undifferentiated meaning' of education he refers to for adult hood. That adult education is, for him simply the continuation of school learning is, as we have seen, something he practically expresses explicitly. But would he want to continue to be consistent to the extent of retaining that a teacher needs to be involved for education to take place? We cannot be sure, but what is certain is that many liberal philosophers of educational ideal. They would therefore, probably, want to answer no, because a successful schooling aimed towards autonomy will have given the individual the skills as well as the motivation to go it alone afterwards, thereby making tutelage unnecessary. At the same time such a view could consistently allow that educational relevance of non-formal learning, providing that what is being developed through its activities is the conceptual schemes and formes of appraisal appropriate to the study of the disciplines, not something else, thereby preserving continuity with the school. If we consider this programme as 'educational for life' it cannot evidently be called a lifelong education programme since, to be properly so called. peters and the other liberal philosophers would also have to fall in with lengrand's condition that educational value be conceded to infant learning. Its proper name would be continuing education.

All of this, however, does considerable violence to the original liberal technical definition of education, since all it keeps constant from that definition is the knowledge condition, otherwise it drops the condition that learning must be formal and that it requires the direction of teachers, although continuity could also be claimed with the latter in an extended sense in which the learning to be continued started with a teacher. Such a programme would leave the matter of adult education entirely to individual initiative, since, on the one hand it is evidently unthinkable that education should continue the work of teachers and schools as liberal

philosophers identify it- these are the universities and the other formal tertiary establishments, attendance at which is voluntary.

John white and lifelong education

It is clear that in order to proceed to the kind of programme sketched in the last paragraph of the previous section liberal philosophy of education would need to effect important departures from its present outlook. First, it would be necessary for liberal philosophers to recognize that their initial definition of education conceived of in broader terms than childhood. Second, they will need to concede the relevance of non-formal learning to the practice of education. Otherwise they can evidently continue to insist that only teacher- guided learning is education and that education cannot be pursued outside institution or outside some form of tutorship, which is not, if I read them rightly, what most liberal philosophers intend, though it is a theoretical possibilities of their education programme. On the other hand a broader liberal programme could, as was suggested earlier, continue to hold the knowledge conditions that characterize that liberal outlook and, evidently, liberal political ideology, constant. It would than be possible to assume that these consistent with other forms of learning than the teacher-based though it could be conceded that teacher-based learning, especially in its characteristic form as schooling, is indispensable to set the ball rolling. The context of education, then, from the point of view of a continuing education programme, would not necessarily be the school, but any locus of individual cooperative, or tutor/teacher led learning which achieves for the individual the kind of knowledge and 'mental development' in terms of which liberal education is defined, at any time in life.

This solution appears deceptively simples: in fact it is not. For besides the changes proposed one would need to effect another one of an even more radical kind: it would be necessary for liberal philosophers to discard number of

concepts and emphases that are current in liberal philosophy of education and that constitute an obstacle to reconceptualizing education in this way. And this proposal appears to be the most difficult to pursue, in fact it does not seem currently possible. This is because the necessary presupposition for it to happen is a prior cognition on the part of the liberal philosophers themselves, or the fact that a family consistent view of education as something that continues for life requires the reassessment of their educational outlook in the manner described above or in other ways. And this awareness, as was argued in the previous section, currently appears nowhere, since almost all these philosophers continue to hold their declared support for lifelong education against a theoretical outlook which restricts education to childhood and formal learning within schools, blissfully unaware of any inconsistency on their part.

I say almost because in fact the point is taken by Jone White who devotes a whole section to lifelong education, which he correctly characterizes as a challenge to the liberal education programme to which he himself subscribes. White recognized the argument made above. He also recognizes that what is currently being proposed in name of lifelong education is a much more radical reappraisal of education even than that outlined above. White recognizes that the lifelong education programme demands a total reconceptualization of the whole of education rather than these limited corrective measures. His concern in his book however is not to contribute to the discussion of how the liberal programme can be better aligned with the concept of lifelong education programme, he demands a total reconceptualization of the whole of education rather than these limited corrective measures. His concern in his book however is not to contribute to the discussion of how the liberal programme can be better aligned with the concept of lifelong education, but to reject the concept on behalf of liberal education. And in the process he evidently lights upon the spots

where the inconsistencies between the two are most pronounced. In doing so he highlights the concepts and emphasizes the current liberal programme would need to discard in order to achieve compatibility with the concept of lifelong education -although, evidently, he does not advocate that it should do so, taking the inconsistencies, on the contrary, as reasons for rejecting lifelong education.

White's attack on the lifelong education concept takes different forms: he argues that the concept violates and renders meaningless the central concept of liberal philosophy of education; the concept of the educated man or person; he argues that it removes the emphasis from childhood, which no longer remains special from the educational point of view; he argues that it can be reduced and absurdum. All of these are meant as serious objections made by a serious philosopher, and therefore need to be met; they are also objections that do not appear elsewhere in philosophy of education. White's section, in fact, constitutes the only real philosophical critique of the lifelong education concept available at the time of writing this book, and the fact, that it is made from a hostile or, more accurately, sceptical position, renders it additionally important. It will therefore be considered in some detail in the pages to come, beginning with the problem he raises over the incompatibility of the lifelong education concept with that of the educated man.

with reference to it, white says;

If education is to be reconceptualized as a lifelong process and not as something belonging only to youth, then we might as well drop the concept of the educated man: there is no line to be crossed; the journey goes on for ever.

And he evidently thinks the concept so crucial that it should be guarded against this eventuality.

The reasoning behind this viewpoint goes something like this: being an intentional activity guided by set of aims of some

kind. That aim or set of aims or some kind. That aim or set of aims must reflect qualities that it is desirable that people should have and that their education should give them; we call the individual who acquires these qualities an 'educated person'. The educated person, then, is one who possesses certain qualities that are deemed desirable and that are achieved through education; he can be described as the embodiment of the aims of education. The language of aims is thus an important one for the liberal philosopher of education and he is ready to pursue its logic. The language of aims is the language of deliberate action, the language of 'targets' to be aimed at; to have an aim means to have a target in focus on which one can adjust one's sights. When the language of aims is pursued further in connection with education the analogy immediately presents itself; education is a set of end results towards which teachers direct their pupils with specific criteria of achievement in mind. The latter is understood within the terms of the analogy itself since one cannot properly be said to be aiming at something without the understanding that one also knows what it means to hit it, how a successful aim shows itself. To pursue the analogy a little bit further, just as success in hitting the target closes off the action begun by aiming at it, so education is closed off when the aims of education have been achieved and one has acquired the qualities of the educated person. But this whole language game cannot be played if one introduces into it the alien concept of lifelong education; because the concept renders the conclusion we have just reached paradoxical. For if a person is educated, then the aim of education has been reached; as far as he is concerned his education is completed, the line has been crossed - whatever learning lies beyond cannot be his continuing education.

The language of liberal philosophy of education is oriented in this way; it recognizes the ultimate purpose of educating people as being that of achieving for them the characteristic of educatedness as they are identified by liberal

philosophy. With particular reference to White he in fact describes his own clearly stated set of educational aims, his set of qualities of the educated man or person, and distinguishes them from those of other liberal philosophers of education by the fact that while the latter focus on the knowledge conditions, in the main, he himself focuses on virtue. His concept, therefore, he says, avoids that over-emphasis on the cognitive which has rendered liberal conceptions of educatedness the object of so much criticism. At the same time, and in conformity with our previous exposition of the liberal argument, educatedness is for him, as it must be with all the other liberal philosophers of education, a point of arrival, like stepping into a new state. It is for this reason that the need for a demarcation line which will mark it out presents itself for him. And he finds it necessary to dedicate some pages to the unenviable task of trying to sort out the question of where the line lies. His conclusion is, in fact, that it cannot be defined very specifically:

This is partly because there are no sharp lines, only blurred areas, in anybody's case, and partly because people learn at different rates and some may be slower than others in reaching the blurred areas. Some may never reach it, although we may still want to call them partially educated, since they have travelled some way along the same road as others.

But, in any case, a person is 'more or less educated':

when he has formed something like a coherent life plan in the light of all the considerations built into the substantive account of educational aims presented earlier, and is aware of the kinds of future circumstances which might cause him to adjust his valuations as he goes through life.

So, there are no sharp demarcation lines that mark off the point of arrival that is educatedness, only 'very blurred areas' that individuals will reach at different times in their lives and that some people may never reach at all since it is clear that not everybody will be able at any stage in his life to reach the

condition where his life appears to him as a coherent life plan fulfilling 'all the considerations built into the substantive account of educational aims' that white distinguishes. Few people, in fact, will ever be 'something of a philosopher', which is what, ultimately, he expects the educated man to be, although he recognizes the merits of those who can only ever manage part of the journey.

At the same time, this very indeterminacy in establishing where the demarcation line into educatedness lies, and White's own unwillingness to close the fruits of education off for the individual arbitrarily before these have been achieved, because of their very value, renders him reluctant to take any age as a 'cut-off point', though he does insist that educatedness may be achieved, indeed ideally should be achieved by the end of schooling, since one's schooling should have turned one into an educated man. But the fact that with many it will not have done so and that some at least will arrive later means that the possibility of educatedness must be kept permanently open. though, as White perceives 'a logical gap immediately open up between aims and terminal school objectives', on this account.

The question is, how does he respond to the perception of this gap? The logical way would seem to be that of holding up continuing education as a back up for those who have been unfortunate enough to have failed to achieve educatedness at school - this would turn it into a species of compensatory programme for a defective schooling. In fact White suggests something of the kind but he warns us not to confuse it with lifelong education:

We might then envisage compulsory full-time schooling until say 16 or later, possibly followed by compulsory part-time education for another period, with strong official encouragement to continue one's education on a voluntary basis beyond this point. This would not be 'lifelong' education, since the overall objective would only be to produce educated

persons and this might be achievable while people are still young.

True, this programme would not be lifelong education, but it would not be 'upbringing' either.

This is in fact how White, like most other liberal philosophers of education, defines education, as 'upbringing'. And, evidently, the consequence of so defining it is to tie the concept specifically with that of childhood. Education, as upbringing, is something that older people, notably teachers, do to the younger. So the obvious question, with regard to the programme White outlines above, is, how is this definition compatible with it? How does one continue with one's education on a voluntary basis beyond full-time schooling if education equals up-bringing? Moreover, White emphasises the fact that, as upbringing, education has nothing to do with the will or desire of the educand. This is because upbringing necessarily implies compulsion: children do not decide whether they want to be brought up or not - their upbringing is both a non-voluntary and a necessary thing. This is because, as O'Hear points out, there are certain kinds of knowledge and certain dispositions that it is desirable children should have when they grow up, and it appears that having them cannot wait. Among these perhaps the most important, from White's point of view, are dispositions of a moral kind, the 'main girders' of which need to be put in place in childhood.

From the point of view of lifelong education, however, the problems with defining education as upbringing are evident. On the one hand restricting upbringing to childhood, as liberal philosophers do, and defining education as upbringing renders it contradictory to describe education as a lifelong process; if education happens in childhood then it becomes incoherent to refer to it as lifelong. If, on the other hand, we keep the formula education equals upbringing and propose to consider the former as lifelong, notwithstanding, we can only be,

consistently with this definition, proposing lifelong upbringing. This latter conclusion is, in fact, the one White would consistently be committed to if he wishes to keep the programme described about together with his definition of education as upbringing - it is the only way in which he can consistently close the gap.

So if space is to be found for the view that education is a life long process within the liberal programme, a considerable amount more will be involved than the philosopher's pious approval of it as a truism and a recommendable slogan. The fact is, as White's difficulties with the concept show, the liberal paradigm is not so conceived as to absorb it; it operates with a language game that makes its inclusion paradoxical, mainly because it is a language game focused upon the understanding that education denotes some kind of upbringing that leads to a state of educatedness, and bringing somebody up is an intentional activity with finite and well-defined results that are ascertainable. In other words the task of adapting the liberal education programme to absorb the principle of lifelong education is a much more formidable one than may appear to be the case at first glance.

The concept of the educated man

We have seen that White is right in claiming that the concept of lifelong education does not go with that of the educated man. But while this means that a liberal programme that focuses on the latter cannot accommodate the former, it is not itself a criticism of the former, it is simply the statement of a fact, tantamount to statement that 'X is incompatible with Y', no more. The question why Y should be retained in preference to X is a totally different one, in our case it is the crucial one, but it is not one that White even attempts to tackle. It is only by showing in a decisive way the necessity of retaining the concept of the educated man, by showing, for instance, that the language of education itself is rendered incoherent in the

absence of such a concept, that one can object on philosophical grounds to any reconceptualizing of education that does away with it; and this is something White does not do. He seems to assume that the concept is required but he does not argue for it.

This, however, is clearly insufficient. All the more so since he would, in fact, be quite pressed to offer a defence of the current concept of the educated man from attack from some quarters within liberal philosophy of education itself. For instance from the kind of objections brought against it in Jane Roland Martin's essay on 'The Ideal of the Educated Person'.

The specific target of Roland Martin's attack is in fact Peters' concept of the educated man, but she makes it clear that here objections are equally applicable to other similar conceptions that differ from that of Peters only in detail; Downie, Loudfoot and Telfer's, for instance, and that of Woods and Barrow, as she herself indicates. Her first objection is to the expression 'educated man' itself. What is at issue, she points out, is not a simple matter of nomenclature; the question is a much more serious and substantial one than that. For, drawing on an impressive bulk of feminist research, Roland Martin makes the startling claim that the term itself is, in fact, accurate because Peters' model is sexist; so the problem is not a terminological one but a conceptual one. It is 'sexist', she argues, because, for one thing, it describes the process of becoming educated as that of being initiated into the existing forms of knowledge or disciplines, and these, she says, clearly 'incorporate a male cognitive perspective'.

the intellectual disciplines into which a person must be initiated to become an educated person exclude women and their works, construct the female to the male image of her and deny the truly feminine qualities she does possess.

For another, the model

Coincides with our cultural stereotype of a male human being. According to the stereotype men are objective, analytic,

rational; they are interested in ideas and things that have no interpersonal orientation; they are neither nurturant nor supportive, neither empathetic nor sensitive. According to the stereotype, nurturance and supportiveness, empathy and sensitivity are female attributes. Institution is a female attribute too.

This means, Roland Martin says, that in confrontation with Peters' conception of being educated women are put in a 'double bind': 'To be educated they must give up their own way of experiencing and looking at the world, thus alienating themselves from themselves'. And this fact effectively puts them in a 'no-win situation', for, to begin with, it is a priori more difficult for women to succeed on terms that are so heavily loaded in favour of men. Moreover, even if they do succeed in acquiring the qualities of educatedness described by the model, women do so at a price which is not demanded of men and which is far from insignificant; that of denaturalizing themselves. Furthermore, Roland Martin continues, the emotional suffering entailed by having to pay such a price is augmented by the fact that even if a woman does acquire the traits characterized by the ideal, these are appraised negatively by others, notably by men themselves. So that, in effect, a liberal curriculum that objectifies the educated man, or person, more often than not the difference is only a matter of nomenclature, as its ultimate aim puts a woman in a position where, if she 'has acquired the traits of an educated person will not be evaluated positively for having them, while one who has acquired those traits for which she will be positively evaluated will not have achieved the ideal'.

These objections cannot themselves be dismissed lightly, and Roland Martin adds to them from an even broader and inclusive perspective. She argues that, as we have seen, not only is the current liberal ideal of the educated person damaging to women, it is also 'far too narrow to guide the

educational enterprise' in another significant manner, which makes it not fitting for men either. For the model which embodies it is too heavily biased towards the cognitive, to the extent that 'it presupposes a divorce of mind from body, thought from action, and reason from feeling and emotion', it therefore 'provides at best an ideal of an educated mind, not an educated person'. Further, this same bias on an utterly individualist one which eschews any kind of social orientation for education goals: 'Concern for people, and for interpersonal relationships has no role to play: the educated person's sensitivity is to the standards immanent in activities, not to other human beings.

Finally, Roland Martin says, the model deliberately, and again to the disadvantage of woman, rules out what she calls the 'reproductive' social functions from the concept of educatedness. She argues that Peters' conception of the educated person: in fact, whatever its pretensions, is a 'functionalist' one: 'he assigns to education the function of developing the traits and qualities and to some extent the skills of one whose role is to use and produce ideas'. Thus, for the model to be sufficiently broad, 'the two kinds of societal processes which Peters divorces from one another must be joined together'.

White, who uses the term 'educated man' throughout his book, does, to some degree, succeed in avoiding some of this criticism. Sensitive to the overemphasis on the cognitive which all the other models display, he makes, as we have seen, virtues more central than knowledge in his own model. Thus, the educated man, White says, 'is someone who has come to care about his own well-being in the extended sense which includes his living a morally virtuous life, this latter containing a civic dimension among others'.

To some degree only because White's Aristotelian model of virtue is utterly rationalist; his virtuous man is one who is

'knowledgeable in all sorts of ways'. Moreover, though being knowledgeable may not be 'a self-justifying state on its own', still 'knowledge is necessary to virtue', and the forms of knowledge virtue requires 'are indeed complex and extensive', so that the virtuous man needs, as 'something of a philosopher', to be 'able and prepared to think things through without falling into obscurity or blindly taking over the pronouncements of authority'. In short, we are practically back where Peters started with regards to the traits, characteristics and skills of being educated, what changes with White's model is its orientation towards the civic, and while the importance of this change needs to be acknowledged it does not itself nullify the other criticism contained in Roland Martin's essay.

It is important to note that Roland Martin herself does not recommend that the concept of educatedness or of the educated person be abandoned. What she demands is that it be broadened in different ways; in the first place to include 'experience and activities that have traditionally been considered to belong to women', also to include the 'hidden curriculum', and so on. In other words what she wants is a redefined liberal programme which takes in these omissions and which does not draw too sharp a line between certain 'logical and contingent relationships'; between the results of conceptual analysis and 'the contingent relationships which obtain between them and both the good life and the good society'.

Because of this proposal to broaden considerably the concept of the educated person which Roland Martin makes, she finds herself constrained at one point to raise the question 'whether we should adopt one or more ideals of the educated person'. But she leaves it undiscussed. And yet it is an important question for it seems to entitle the further question whether it is useful, on her description, to retain a concept of the educated person at all if it is going to be multiplied in

several different ways. Moreover, once one advocates the having of a multiplicity of ideals one raises complications making it difficult to specify what the aims of teaching should be in such a situation. The implication is clearly that reaching should, in this light, have different aims, but this suggestion clearly starts a train of consequences that would take us right out of the liberal education programme into something quite different.

Upbringing

The second major problem White sees with the concept of lifelong education is, as we have said, its conflict with our usual way of identifying education with childhood. We have seen how he himself defines education as upbringing, with the additional comment that this is in fact how it is defined by the majority of liberal philosophers of education. And, White argues, this is just since 'Whatever else happens there must be some sort of preparation for life in any society'. So the first argument for defining education as upbringing is that the bringing up of the young is necessary in any kind of society, that upbringing is a necessary phase of life both for the individual and for society itself and that it is therefore something no society can possibly ignore or leave to chance and therefore needs to be institutionalized in a formal manner as education. White also presents a variation to this argument. Education, he says, belongs specifically to youth because 'the main girders of the kind of education I am recommending will have to be put in place in the early years'. This argument presents a somewhat different twist from the first; White is here making a case for the priority of youth because his own programme requires it.

Neither objection however appears to carry much force against conceptualizing education as lifelong. The first appears particularly fragile because there is nothing about a reconceptualized view of education as a lifelong process that a

priorl precludes a due recognition of the sort of preparation White indicates, or, more generally, denies the relevance of upbringing, indeed the more usual offenders in this respect are his fellow liberal philosophers of education who draw sharp conceptual distinctions between the sort of upbringing that counts as education and 'socialization'. The lifelong education programme itself stipulates only that there needs to be continuity between the different phases or stages of the individual's development, it does not deny the need to consider the defining characteristics of each different stage and give it due with. On the contrary, the particular needs of each stage, and the demands made on it by society are considered within the programme to be educationally important. The programme does not, in sum, deny the fact or value of upbringing, what it refuses to do it is define education as upbringing, and that is a different thing.

The second is similarly weak because it appears to assume that there can be no viable alternative to White's programme and that, therefore, incompatibility with it is a conclusive objection against any educational viewpoint not only the lifelong education one. In fact, this is substantially the same argument as that presented earlier, where the concept of lifelong education was rejected on the grounds of its incompatibility with the concept of the educated person. The same kind of response can therefore be made to it; White is merely making the point that the view that education is a lifelong process does not go with its definition as upbringing, just as it does not go with a concept of educatedness, any more.

At the same time his concern that conceptualizing education as a lifelong process would cause us to neglect placing the 'main girders' of his education programme in youth arises from a just observation. This is that conceptualizing it in this way means removing education's traditional focus on youth

and thereby reducing the relation between upbringing and adult learning to one of mere co-equivalence. This is in fact true, the concept of lifelong education implies this consequence. Not only that, the advocates of lifelong education actually tend to focus more strongly on adult education than youth. But this is only to redress the current imbalance in question to be asked is whether the latter imbalance still a good think to focus education on youth and upbringing. Lifelong education theorists argue that it is not, and they present their case accordingly. At the same time they would agree with white that there are certain 'girders' that need to be placed in youth, though they would opt for a different set of girders that his in indentifying the kind of knowledge that should be focused on in upbringing. They would, infact, support the case for educability as against initiation into forms of intrinsically valuable knowledge as the focus of formal learning. How, on the other hand, they would focus their moral objectives, is a question that admits of different answers though, as will be argued later, a particular kind of socialization is implied by the normative statements in the lifelong education literature.

The important point to be made in clarification of White's objection is that the lifelong education programme de-emphasizes the prominence of youth not by downgrading its importance but by upgrading the education importance and value of adulthood. So the case White needs to make is against upgrading the educational importance and value of adulthood if he wants to reject conceptualizing education as lifelong.

White, however, finds still further cause for disquiet with the lifelong education programme besides. We have already mentioned the fact that, for him, tying education up with upbringing makes it a matter coercion rather than voluntary will. White shows concern that thinking of education as lifelong or as 'a way of life' may 'blur the vital distinction between a person's upbringing, which for him cannot be

voluntary. The problem that such 'blurring' may serve to obliterate the since qua non nature upgrading has already been considered and seen to be unreal. The problem now raised returns us to the problem of the logical gap between achieving educatedness and the terminal objectives of school raised, as we have seen, by White himself. It was pointed out in fact that in accordance with his programme, the only logically consistent was to close the gap is to conceptualize the continuing learning which he proposes as continuing learning which he proposes as continuing upbringing. And while he appears to be unconcious of this consequence where his own position is concerned, he seems very much aware of its critical possibilities with regards to the lifelong education programme and warns that the countervailing argument for liberty education beyond childhood. Nevertheless he feels continuing education as far as he thinks permissible. Thus we have already seen that he envisages the possibility of 'compulsory part-time education' for a period beyond schooling, and would give strong official encouragement, for those who are inclined to continue voluntarily beyond. It is interesting to seen what he has in mind by 'encouraement'.

This goes a little further than saying that post-compulsory provision should exist on a voluntary basis. It could mean, for instance, providing incentives in time or money for young workers to undertake educational courses or to pursue their own self-educational courses or to pursue their own self-education. It could mean reshaping conventional social expectations via the media, for instance, so that becoming educated in a full sense becomes the done thing. It could mean not only strengthening and making more accessible those agencies career guidance units, marriage counselors, almoners, Gingerbread groups, Cruse, psychiatric services and also on which help people to reflect on the shape of their lives as a whole, but also reconceptualizing them as educational agencies. Looked at this way, the period of compulsory education would

have the function of laying the groundwork for a coherent life-plan, with strong encouragement for the individual after this period to reconsider and revise this life-plan with help from formal informal agencies, if necessary.

But a feeling of confusion on reading this important passage is natural - White himself has apparently elaborated a perfectly coherent programme of continuing education, expanding upon the principles outlined before. But when he refers to young workers undertaking education accuses or pursuing their own self-education, now is he using the term 'education' does he still mean to refer to it as upbringing? Clearly not, for the term 'self-upbringing' is a contradictory one. On the other hand, the term 'self - education, how is he using the term education, does he still mean to refer to it as upbringing? Clearly not, for the term self - upbringing is a contradictory one. On the other hand, the term self - education should be even feature in White's language game. And when he refers to the possibility of reconceptualizing the various agencies he mentions as educational agencies des he mean that their aims are set for them by the aims of education entailed by the concept of educatedness and ideally already attained in the school? Or is he operating with a different, wiser, meaning of education as something which 'help(s) people to reflect on the shape of their lives as a whole ? Naturally, the inconsistencies become more glaring once the programme is elaborated further, nor is this fact lost on White. In fact, he realizes that an education programme of this kind poses problems for him.

But, even more serious as far as he is concerned, is the fact that what appears to push him, nevertheless, in its direction is the apparent implication of a concept which he evidently considers crucial to his own description of educatedness, to his own education programme the concept of life plan. We have seen how having an integrated lifeplan. We have seen how having an integrated life plan of a certain kind is, for White,

the sure sign of being educated. He now poses himself the following problem if being educated means being in possession of an integrated lifeplan, it may still be argued that a person's life plan is always subject to change as life itself forces us to re-evaluate and change our priorities. This being the case it may be contended that a person's life plan is never fully settled and therefore his education, in my sense, must go on throughout his life. The only satisfactory upbringing is lifelong education. In other words White seems to be condensing, as indeed he must, that logic and his own description of educatedness drive him towards a view of education as a lifelong process, and this is indeed a catastrophic suggestion as far as the coherence of his own programme is concerned to say that although there is a lot which is true and important in this argument it is nevertheless an exaggeration for it would he says, for instance, imply that the 80-year-old man who is readjusting his priorities in the light of old age still has not completed his upbringing.

The feeling that would appear legitimate at this point is one of desperation. For it is so evident, so patently clear that the reduction in this argument depends upon the illicit interchangeability of the two terms education and upbringing that it is a real wonder that White does not see it. Observe, his education etc. The only satisfactory upbringing etc. and there is something absurd about the view that an 80-year-old has no complete his upbringing. True, but there is nothing absurd about the view that an 80-year-old man has not yet complete his education, particularly if he still has the capability of readjusting his priorities, and I do not think that White would want to deny it. Indeed, he could not consistently deny it, for did he not himself hold that there is no cut-off point for the achieving of educatedness? surely this position in itself should have demonstrated to him the nonsense of making education and upbringing one and the same thing. But apparently it has not. Or is it because it is only by to-ing and fro-ing in this way

between the two terms that he can win his point that he continues to appear blind to it ? Surely he cannot really think that this argument about the 80-year-old man lets him off the conclusion he is so desperate to avoid !

Indeed what the argument shows up is not the absurdity of conceptualizing education as a lifelong process but the absurdity of defining education as upbringing, because so defined it clearly cannot stand for all the things we want to apply it to or say on its behalf, It does not even suit, as he himself is in practice forced to concede, White's own account of education, and this not merely because of the implications of including within it the concept of a life plan, but also because that account is such that within it he wants to hold that one's education can and with many people will, need to go on beyond one's upbringing even if education is conceived of as the achievement of educatedness.

Finally, any a priori uncertainty over the moral implications of holding that education is lifelong only exists if education is defined as upbringing. For, if it is, then it is clearly not only absurd to hold that an 80-year-old should continue with his education, it is also clearly immoral, given the logic of the term upbringing as described earlier, and countervailing right to freedom for adults which White cites., If we, however, refuse the definition then there is no problem particularly if by further implication, we thereby include non-formal agencies and activities within our alternative, broader, conception of education. There are places in White's book, not least in the lengthy quotation reproduced earlier, where he does operate with Vjpa's broader meaning of education because this alone will suit his purposes. Surely then, on balance and all things considered it appears more worthwhile for him to abandon his definition of education as upbringing rather than continue to hold on to it, especially if the price to be paid otherwise is either to live with the inconsistencies brought to

light in these pages, or the abandonment of all that has been shown to be inconsistent in his own position with the definition.

This chapter has considered the different problems relative to the compatibility of the lifelong education concept and what it entails, and the liberal education programme as it is rationalized by liberal philosophers of education. No need to devote a separate chapter to a similar comparison of the concept with the orthodox Marxian programme is felt because there are no real fundamental differences between Marxists and liberals over the technical definition of education that guides their respective programmes both conceptualize education in formal terms and more narrowly, tend to identify it with schooling. Thus, as is well known, Marx himself wrote very little specifically about education, though many of the concepts he explored in his social philosophy have been utilized in educational theory, while Gramsci who, of all the Marxist thinkers, was perhaps the most interested in the subject, while similarly contributing concepts from his broader political writings, like that of hegemony for instance, to educational discourse, was extraordinarily conservative where his explicit contributions to education are made. For the most part Marxist philosophers have been content to criticize the liberal education programme for the values it rationalizes through its curriculum and for its contribution towards the liberal - capitalist status quo, otherwise they have retained the same focus and, basically, the same emphases, in some cases substituting the concept of the class-based organic intellectual perhaps for that of the educated person.

With reference to the liberal philosophers of education, we have seen that they are, for the most part perhaps, ready to concede the view that education is for life in the temporal sense of the expression, but that they also, at the same time, define it as something formal, involving teachers and

continuing, education programme would quite simply encourage people to continue to develop what has been achieved in schooling on a personal basis. White, who has taken up the question more specifically, unlike Peters whose contribution is a mere passing comment, would agree partially and with important reservations. For, he points out, the scope of such a programme must continue to be the achievement of educatedness, therefore, logically, once this is achieved for any particular person, his education is completed. There will therefore be a number of people who will not need lifelong education is completed. There will therefore be a number of people who will not need lifelong education because their journey will have been completed early on in life, ideally by the end of school. The only concession to the concept of lifelong education then that White makes in his books refers to a continuing compensatory learning for those who need it. It is impossible to ascertain how far Peters would be in accord with this conclusion, but White is certainly right in insisting that this is not the proposal of a lifelong education programme since its lifelong expression is a concession to failure not an ideal.

At the same time White has shown most clearly where the problem of achieving compatibility between the liberal programme and the concept of lifelong education lies. He has shown that reconceptualizing education as a lifelong programme inevitably violated certain key concepts retained to be indispensable by liberal philosophers, notably that of educatedness or of the educated person, it also challenges the liberal tendency to define education as upbringing. In the chapter we have not made a specific list of the points of contrast between the liberal programme and the movement's lifelong education programme, which are evidently numerous himself. What we have said is that a liberal continuing education programme could continue to rationalize the traditional schooling aims and activities and define its continuing component as the extension of these aims and

activities in time, providing it abandons the concept of educatedness. Some further modifications to the original programme, though by no means minor in themselves, may, it is suspected, also meet with the approval of many liberal philosophers in order to give the continuing programme more breadth and freedom, the main ones would be the removal of the conditions that education requires the participation to teachers, which would allow the concept of self education, and that it typically takes place in school and similar institutions.

A total reconceptualisation of education as a lifelong programme, on the other hand, would, as White shows, require even more radical modifications than these, it would require a completely different theatre of discussion, a completely different theatre of discussion, a completely new language paradigm the bringing into operation of which would effectively entail the very abandonment of the current liberal education programme. The question to be addressed once it is accepted that the key concepts to be abandoned are not indispensable to an intelligible description of education, is, how consistent would this reconceptualized programme be with liberal social and political philosophy how consistent would it be with the ideological core of the liberal education programme? The question is a substantially different one from that which faces us when we inquire into the possibility of an existentialist lifelong education programme, where the problems, as we have seen arise from the very unwillingness of existentialist thought to present itself as a programme, and from the fact that there is no real ideological core to existentialism as a philosophy.

No more than a cursory glance through the literature is require to establish that the ideological focus of the liberal education programme is the concept of personal autonomy this is considered by most liberal philosophers to be the highest political good. The focus on autonomy, on the other hand,

encourages an individualist educational philosophy, and several liberal philosophers have carried the individualist orientation so far as to draw sharp conceptual distinctions between education as the development of mind and socialisation which is the turning of individuals into current men. To this extent they have shown the same diffidence towards the social as that shown the same diffidence towards the social as that shown by existentialist thinkers. At the same time they have typically stopped short of pitching their ideal of autonomy is something people need to be educated into. They have thus avoided holding aims that, when translated educationally, are incompatible with schools should avoid indoctrinating people. This they can do by concentrating on initiating pupils into forms of knowledge that are intrinsically valuable in morally unobjectionable ways that eventually lead to the liberating of the mind. This is the paradigm that dictates how upbringing is to be conceived. And White, who shares all these views, continues to emphasise the difference between autonomy and the existentialist's authenticity by stressing that being autonomous implies having a coherent life plan nor making criterionless choices; it is thus that autonomy, unlike authenticity, can be made the object of education.

Lifelong Education Movement

Since about the middle 1960s there has come into being a new movement in the world of education. That new movement has expressed its presence through a body of reports, through conferences, through publicity, and through experiments carried out in its name; lifelong education. There is no claim that the guiding principle of the movement, the idea that education be viewed as a lifelong matter, is new, indeed it is acknowledged to be very old indeed. What is claimed to be new is the movement itself. Accounts about how it came into being are to be found in the introductory pages of almost every book or article written about lifelong education in recent years. the relevant fact for our purpose is that the movement, as distinct from the idea, was born within UNESCO; it was born from the decision taken by this organization in the early 1960s to make lifelong education the master concept for all its educational planning. since then a considerable bulk of literature has appeared, linked mainly with UNESCO initiatives, aiming to clarify the concept and study its implications for educational practice. the movement has thus come to acquire a programme or has it?

During this time perhaps the most influential and widely read report was the Faure report, *Learning to be*, produced in 1972. The report ended with a list of principles of lifelong education with subsidiary recommendations about how they should be read. Not too long afterwards, in 1975, R. H. Dare published a list of concept characteristics of lifelong education that were meant to synthesize the extant literature into a

programme and define its meaning accordingly. At the same time Paul Lengrand, who was strongly involved in the initial acceptance of the lifelong education principle by UNESCO, published a book called *An Introduction to Lifelong Education*, and this was followed by very soon afterwards by another book by Dave called *Foundations of Lifelong Education* which had the declared scope of providing an initial exercise in constructing the theoretical foundations of lifelong education for a clearer understanding and effective implementation of the concept, by establishing 'binding threads' through an interdisciplinary synthesis. The feeling was, in fact, expressed by both Lengrand and Dave that the concept had hitherto been inadequately defined, even if the practice of lifelong education had advanced apace. Then in 1979 Cropley produced a book called *Lifelong Education a stocktaking* which was meant to report progress in this direction and which, like *Foundations of Lifelong Education*, was a cooperative effort by a more or less settled body of theorists whose names and those of others were coming to be connected with the movement.

Among the latter, although he contributes to none of the works named above, one should mention the name of Ettore Gelpi, which in many countries, partly because of his position as chief of the lifelong education division of UNESCO in Paris, and partly due to his publications, has become synonymous with lifelong education. Gelpi, in fact, is the individual who stands out most prominently among the theorists on lifelong education and recently his name has been linked with that of Illich and Freire as among the most important contributors to educational debate especially as it has influenced discussion of adult and lifelong education. The writers and the views expressed in these books can accurately be considered to represent the theoretical orientations of the movement and can therefore be turned to, in addition to some supplementary sources for the articulation of its programme such as it is.

It will be recalled that in the previous chapter the general

theoretical structure of any education programme was described as having two broad constituents; an ideological inner core and an operational belt. It was also claimed that the strength or weakness of such a programme depends essentially on four factors: (1) the clarity and coherence of its ideological core; (2) the clarity and coherence of its strategy; (3) the compatibility of its strategy with its ideological core; (4) the relevance of its strategy to current world conditions on the cultural and socio-economic front. The first paragraph of this chapter closed with a question which began as a statement, the movement has thus come to acquire a programme or has it? The question reflects doubts about whether one could properly speaking refer to a lifelong education programme, doubts that take the form of two subsidiary questions; is there properly speaking a lifelong education programme in the sense defined? And, is there properly speaking a, one, single programme of lifelong education or several? These are critical assessments of concept or movement is engaged in. The first to be tackled is the second question.

Semantics and programmes

The nearest attempt approaching the formal statement of the lifelong education programme is Dave's concept characteristics:

- (1) The meaning of the concept of lifelong education is based on the elemental terms- life, lifelong and education. The meaning attached to these terms and the interpretation given to them largely determine the scope and meaning of lifelong education.
- (2) Education is not to be seen as restricted to a particular period of life. It is a lifelong process which covers the entire life-span of the individual embracing and unifying all stages of education -pre-primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and adult education. It views education not as a fragmented spectrum of individual parts but in its totality-as integrated whole.

- (3) Lifelong education encompasses those sectors of education commonly described as formal, nonformal and informal. This flexibility allows for varied patterns and forms of acquiring education.
- (4) Education is not confined to formal institutions of education. Whilst they remain important as one of the agencies of lifelong education they no longer enjoy a monopoly on education. Indeed the family is seen as exerting a crucial influence on the initial and continued development and learning of its members in a truly lifelong dimension.
- (5) Lifelong education is rooted in the community which performs an important educative role. Life itself is seen as the major source of learning.
- (6) Lifelong education seeks integration at its horizontal and depth dimensions at every stage of life.
- (7) Lifelong education also seeks continuity and articulation along its vertical dimension.
- (8) Lifelong education represents the democratization of education. It is based, not on an elitist principle but on the universalist principle of education for all at all ages.
- (9) Lifelong education is a dynamic approach to education which allows adaptation of materials and media as and when new developments take place. Learning tools and techniques, content and time of learning are flexible and diverse.
- (10) In lifelong education the learning process is the key to all education.
- (11) There are two broad components contained within lifelong education-general and vocational which are interrelated and interactive in nature.
- (12) Lifelong education provides individuals and society with

opportunities not only to adapt to change but also to participate in change and to innovate.

- (13) Lifelong education provides an antidote to the shortcomings of the existing formal education system.
- (14) The ultimate goal of lifelong education is to maintain and improve the quality of life.
- (15) There are three major prerequisites for lifelong education opportunity, motivation and educability.
- (16) At the operational level lifelong education is an organising principle providing a total system for all education.

How is one to assess them as a programme? Cropley, without specifying he was referring to this but using the same word characteristics as Dave and probably having it in mind, says that the lifelong education programme contains:

characteristics which are essential and crucial to lifelong education, those which might well be necessary characteristics, but are not inevitably linked with lifelong education and would not mean that what lifelong education and would not mean that what remained was not lifelong education if they were absent, and those which are best seen as happy outcomes of the implementation of the idea of lifelong education. These latter characteristics largely encompass values which are regarded as desirable by many educational theorists, but are not uniquely related to lifelong education, since they would be important features of any acceptable approach to education

Thus, according to Cropley, and analysis of the programme reveals three different levels of statement: the necessary, which refers to those features of the concept without the inclusion of which one could not properly be taken to be referring to a lifelong education programme, and the contingent, which he subdivides into two levels containing, respectively, those characteristics which are not inevitably linked with lifelong education, in the sense that one could still be referring to a particular programme as a lifelong education, in the sense that one could still be referring to a particular programme as a

lifelong education programme in their absence, and those characteristics which are best seen as happy outcomes of the implementation of the ideas of lifelong education. The contingent characteristics, Cropley points out, are no more than prescriptive statements reflecting the values and understanding of the theorists contributing to the programme.

In effect, the only statement in the list that unambiguously defines conditions that are necessary features of any programme of lifelong education is the opening one of characteristic which says that from the point of view of such a programme Education is not seen as restricted to a particular period of life. It is a lifelong process which covers the whole lifespan of the individual. The statement, in fact, amounts to no more than a tautologous re-statement of the same idea of lifelong education. Otherwise everything else is contingent, including the end piece to the same Characteristic, which says that the programme views the educational process as an integrated whole. This is because, as characteristic indicates, the bare view that the education should be seen as covering the entire life-span of the individual is open to different kinds of understanding and different kinds of strategic solutions of two broad kinds; either it could be taken to mean that the educational process is to be conceived of as continuous and uninterrupted throughout the individual's life, or it could be conceptualized as a stop-start process, one that does continue regularly throughout the individual's life but at intermittent periods interspersed with other activity which is non-educational.

The difference is partly reflected in different terminological usages that translate the idea of learning for life variously through the adoperation of such names as continuing education, recurrent education, and education permanente. But the frequently with which these terms are used interchangeably among themselves and with the term life long education, conceals this fact and craes not a little confusion in the field

even among educational theorists themselves, not all of whom are suitably discriminative. The problem for the general public is moreover, further complicated by the fact, to which reference was made in the introduction, that the term lifelong education is frequently used, particularly in the United States, as simply another name for adult education. The confusions that have accompanied this loose usage of the terminology have not, to put it mildly, contributed towards the programmatic clarity of the concept of lifelong education featured in the movement's literature, and have urgently needed sorting out for a long time.

One way of achieving a suitable discrimination between the terms is to tighten their usage according to their semantics. One immediate advantage of this strategy is evident, it becomes absurd to exchange adult education for lifelong education, for the former, like childhood education clearly refers to a particular period of learning in life, while the latter refers to learning spread over the whole of life, while the latter refers to learning spread over the whole of life. Again, by recourse to the semantics of the different terms one can also mark a crucial conceptual factor about the term recurrent education this is that it implies a programme of discontinuous or intermittent education or education alternating though life with periods of non-education. For this immediately suggests that the term recurrent education represents a different kind of lifelong education programme from that characterized by Dave and the other UNESCO-based theorists we have referred to. Since, as we have seen, they take lifelong education to refer to an understanding of education 'not as a fragmented spectrum of individual parts but in its totality-as an integrated whole'. And this means that it must be taken to include formal, non-formal and informal learning integrated in a manner that affords continuity and articulation at different points between learning and life. The accurate characterization of recurrent education would therefore be as one way of conceptualizing the idea of learning for life. But the fact that the way is a distinctively

different one from that theorized about by Dave and the other does emerge from semantic consideration.

Nor is this conclusion about recurrent education a standard one. Other writers have defined it differently and have made different distinctions between the different terms. For Kallen, for instance, recurrent education is the primary concept, while all the others, including lifelong education, he lumps together as affiliated policy concepts. While, more recently, Cross-Durant has argued that while the terms recurrent education, lifelong education, and learning society can be grouped together as signifying more or less the same things, these collectively need to be distinguished from the other alternative nomenclatures mentioned earlier, since they differ from say, education permanente, continuing education or the notion of alternance, in that the latter ideas suggest refresher and topping up programmes and retraining, whereas recurrent education, or Boshier's learning society, or lifelong education suggests a complete shift of paradigm. The approaches of education permanent and of continuing education, even when they mean different things to different people, usually imply a considerable expansion of existing services which form part of the general adult education provision, and as such are concerned primarily with post-compulsory education. They may be viewed as tinkering with an existing engine. The approaches of recurrent education, a learning society or lifelong education, on the other hand, involve the fitting of an entirely new engine to drive the educational bus.

Cross-Durant is, in fact, employing two distinctly different sets of criteria in making these distinctions; the semantic and the historical, both of which are in fact valid ways of marking out the conceptual territory of terms and deciding what they denote. But, in strict accordance with the very criteria of semantics, she is not right in setting the concepts of education permanente and continuing education apart from the rest. At the same time she is correct, if my earlier analysis of the

difference between recurrent education and lifelong education is right, in claiming with reference to the former that it can be coupled semantically with lifelong education and the learning society. But the three terms cannot be taken together two concepts, that of lifelong education and that of the learning society, but the triangle with recurrent education does not close.

It is all the more surprising that Cross-Durant should assimilate the programmes of lifelong education and recurrent education together since, in fact, the programmatic difference denoted by the two terms are tacitly reflected in the definitions of recurrent education used, though the clue to them cannot be found in semantics and must therefore necessarily be historical. Thus if one returns to the OECD documents of the early 1970s where the expression was born, one finds recurrent education deformat, and preferably full time education for adults who want to resume their education, interrupted earlier for a variety of reasons.

This definition places recurrent education squarely within the class of concepts inhabited not by lifelong education or by the learning society but by education permanents and continuing education. Which similarly imply an extension of extant education provisions to adults, and within which concepts, therefore, as Cross-Durant points out, no paradigm shift is implied. Her own definition of recurrent education is not so narrow as is this original OECD literature over the years. For her recurrent education is, in fact:

a way of seeing in toto, with learning occurring at intervals throughout life, alternating with normal life activities; the unifying of all stages of education; accepting formal and non-formal patterns of education, and embracing education as an integral-not peripheral or separate- part of life the paradigm shift from the traditional which it implies is not nearly so radical as that implied by the concept of lifelong education defined in the manner of the concept characteristics, the reason being that the

term recurrent education, cannot escape the law of its own semantics. Thus Cross-durant is obliged to define it so that it continues to mean learning occurring at intervals throughout life, alternating with normal activities, which is crucially different these normal life activities as educative.

Cross-Durant's historical criterion amounts to the view that the meaning terms like lifelong education and recurrent education come to have depends strongly on the programmes with which they are consistently identified. This is different from the semantic criterion just described because it makes differences between concepts depend not on the semantic properties of the terms that represent them but on the programmatic properties they separately come to connote.

This distinction is an important one because the term lifelong education itself gives rise to some additional ambiguity which can only be clarified if reference is made to it. It will be recalled that in our discussion about the semantic properties of the term we concluded that adult education could not conceivably be confused with lifelong education, but that certain terms, like continuing education and recurrent education, itself, could be described as kinds of lifelong education because they satisfy the temporal requirement implied by the word lifelong, though in different ways: as the continuation of schooling, as catching up or vocational updating programmes, as a stop-start process alternating with normal activities, and so on, what creates the problem is the fact that, as we have also seen, the term lifelong education is also made to stand for the name of the particular programme characterized in the way described by Dave and the other theorists of the movement. This means that the term has two meanings and can be used in either way. But when reference is made to the programmatic differences between recurrent and lifelong education it is evident that these refer to the latter use of lifelong education, and it is evident that they cannot be distinguished semantically, their origin being, in fact, historical.

This is what is meant when it is claimed that there is no discrepancy between the idea of lifelong education and recurrent education or any kind of education programme that takes on a lifelong aspect, though there are discrepancies, enormous one sometimes, between the programmatic qualities of the movement's lifelong education programme which they call lifelong education and the programmes signified by the other terms.

The historical criterion, in fact, appears to offer a more promising way out of the terminological confusions being discussed than the semantic, valuable though the semantic criterion undoubtedly is. For it is programmes not semantics that count in the world of practice: semantic distinctions merely serve the subordinate task of shedding light on the programmatic differences no more. Thus it seems more important to note that the lifelong education concept and recurrent education have their homes in different organizations and have therefore evolved separately, the one within UNESCO the other within the OECD, as a way of making the relevant distinction between them.

Following this line of explanation Kallen in fact points out that the use of education permanent also indicates a different point of origin for this term from either; in the council of Europe, while Jessup rejects the usage of the term continuing education to describe the lifelong concept not for the semantic reasons that Cross-Durant suggests alone but on both criteria, because it tends to obscure the fact that lifelong education is compatible with discontinuous learning the semantic criterion, and because it is used in North America to denote a particular type of continuing professional education the historical criterion. It is in fact for Jessup, as against Cross-Durant, this narrow programmatic association of the term with professional education that distinguishes continuing education from the movement's concept of lifelong education rather than any semantic discrepancies such as may not exist.

On the same programmatic criterion Boyle suggests an even more interesting distinction between recurrent and continuing education. The two terms, he says suggest different social policies advocated and defended respectively by the radical left and the liberal centre. He quotes Griffin on the main differences:

The social policy of continuing education has evolved from the liberal democratic tradition of adult education itself, and it is concerned that the education system should serve the lifelong needs of people in all sectors of society particularly those in relatively disadvantaged groups... The social policy of recurrent education is much more of an alternative to the existing education system than a response to its inadequacies and failings: it is inclined to a political view of educational institutions, stressing the way in which they create and reinforce inequality.

His own definition of recurrent education, which he supports, is taken from Stoikov. It refers, he says, to:

a global system containing a variety of programmes which distribute education and training of different levels by formal and non-formal means over the life-span of the individual in a recurring way, that is, alternated with work or other activities.

It is substantially in accord with the standard definitions of recurrent education referred to earlier and further illustrates the compelling semantics of the term since he also takes it to mean alternation of education with work or or other activities, though he does not use this point to distinguish it from containing education, as Jessup does. Boyle's argument, in fact, is that the crucial difference between, in fact, he easy, that determines their programmatic differences. Thus the general approach and the curriculum of recurrent education reflects a humanist emphasis on existentially authentic experience, while that of continuing education has a positivist emphasis on rationality.

If as Jessup argues, the expression continuing education

tends to obscure the fact that a lifelong education programme can be a recurrent one, or one that views education as discontinuous with life for its programmatic purposes, this is because it tends by virtue of the semantics of the term, to project an understanding of lifelong education that rules out alteration. This means, in effect, that semantically continuing education appears closer to the meaning of education with which the UNESCO lifelong education theorists work than does the term recurrent education. If however, one turns to the historical associations of the term, as Jessup describes them, then the difference between programmes becomes immediately evident.

It is now time to ask what the crucial difference between the understanding of lifelong education within the movement programme and that of its closest associates, like recurrent education, for instance, it. There are of course other differences of detail and emphasis, but the really crucial difference appears to be the inclusion within the former's technical or formal definition of education of informal learning processes, while the other include only the formal and non-formal. We in fact find that the third defining characteristic of the programme identified by Dave elaborates the term education to refer to formal, non-formal, and informal learning and therefore creates this crucial space between itself and the other programmes.

It is important at this stage to render again explicit the point that the lifelong education programme of the movement reflects the choices of its theorists, and this evidently includes the decision to include informal learning within its technical definition of education. This is because this way of arriving at a programme has been criticized on the grounds that it is not a satisfactory way of defining education by Lawson, who has expressed puzzlement with the very concept of lifelong education on this account. For, because of the manner of its construction, he argues, the meaning of the term cannot be sorted out by conceptual analysis, he therefore concludes that

there is really no concept of lifelong education at all. Or, more accurately, he concedes it does exist, but only if one is prepared to read it into the policy proposals that, in actual fact appear under the name lifelong education'. And this, for Lawson, is not satisfactory, and he goes on to show why; the policy proposals themselves, he says, are handicapped by the absence of those finer conceptual distinction proposals, there certainly is: one clear proof of it is the inclusion of informal learning as part of its meaning of education. For this inclusion means that the programme it gives rise to fail to distinguish between the totality of formative influences which determine our individuality and those influences which are intentionally chosen to form or influence us in desired and desirable ways.

The claims of analytic philosophy and the worth of the finer conceptual distinction recommended by Lawson, and it is not proposed to go over the same ground again appears relevant to this criticism, is that which established an intimate connection between analytic philosophy of education and liberal though the reader will remember the criticism that the former does no more than rationalize the latter under the guise of neutrality. So what conceptual distinctions, arrive at in this case is not more than the rationalization of liberal educational philosophy.

The connection between liberal philosophy of education and both the idea of education for life and the movement's lifelong education programme are the subject of a complete chapter later in the book, which will considered, among other things, the question whether a liberal lifelong education programme is theoretically possible in the sense that it would describe the main principles of the current, liberal programme with a changed temporal dimension and the modifications required to accommodate it. But it is evident that such a programme would be a substantially different one from the movement's. This last point needs to be made because what

Lawson is in fact doing, though evidently not consciously, is to criticize the movement's programme for this fact, for not being a liberal programme. Of course he does not say this, nor believe it, since like other analytic philosophers he evidently thinks that conceptual analysis will establish the truth about the meaning of education, not merely the beliefs of certain philosophers and others. But this is not a position we need accept, just as we have not accepted the philosophical programme from which it derives.

Informal education

Even apart from Lawson's criticism, however, the idea of including informal learning within one's definition of education is evidently a controversial one. It is therefore important to consider just what it means and what the criticism of it is about. In general informal learning is distinguished from other kinds of learning by the fact that it is nonintentional. The usual tendency is therefore to distinguish it from education which is commonly taken to refer to intentional learning activities. The standard objection to the proposal to include non-intentional learning within its definition is that the move renders the term education meaningless. This is, in fact, one criticism often made against Dewey by his opponents who accuse him thereby of having made education indistinguishable from life. This is because the meaning of a term they argue, depends as much on what it excludes as on what it includes. If it excludes nothing then it includes everything and consequently denoted nothing since it is left with no distinct conceptual space of its own. A definition of education that includes formal, nonformal and informal learning processes includes everything and excludes nothing. So, according to the argument, it means nothing, or so its critics would contend.

This criticism of Dewey is particularly popular with analytic philosophers of education, but it is also shared by many others who are taken with this argument and have made education stand for wholly intentional learning activities

involving teachers; a position which naturally renders the informal contrary to the educational, not part of it. It will be dealt with more fully in a later chapter devoted to the relationship between Dewey's educational philosophy and the lifelong educational which similarly shares Dewey's determination to inter-relate education with life in the most intimate way, and is therefore to the criticism if it can be made. With reference to the analytic philosophers however, it is clear that our assessment of their criticism must take into account the fact that it comes from a theoretic outlook that is obsessed with second order questions or metatheory, with cutting up the language for fine conceptual distinctions. A theoretic outlook that departs from the assumption that the term education stands for a free floating non-contestable concept whose logical territory needs to be carved out of the wider language for general use.

But this is a theoretic outlook which, to repeat the conclusion of the previous section, lifelong education theorists implicitly oppose, since their view of education is a radically different one resting as it does on the assumption that it is the name of a contestable programme not of a free floating concept. Thus, while the concern of analytic philosophers is to exclude from a concept all that can be distinguished from others, the opposing concern is for what can be coherently and consistently included within the particular programme that theorists are interested in. This is why, for them, the programme defines the term rather than the other way round. Lawson's complaint about lifelong education theory, discussed earlier, shows a lack of appreciation of this point.

The more fundamental difference, of course, between Dewey and the lifelong education theorists on the one side and analytic and liberal philosophers of education in general, who insist that all educational learning must be intentional, on the other, lies with the fact that whereas the former are more concerned with the process aspect of education and are therefore

basically interested in locating education in the activity of teachers and are therefore, more interested in what teachers should transmit and how, so that they locate education in pedagogical activity.

If education is viewed as process, then, evidently the potential collective effect of all the forms of his learning on the learner's life is what counts and is what is of interest to the theorists and the educator. For isolating one kind of learning away from the others is not only, from this point of view, unrealistic, it also makes a true understanding of the others impossible; this is the sense of the contention that education cannot be separated from life. If, on the other hand, education is defined as what is learned directly or indirectly through the activity of teachers, then informal learning, indeed all learning from experience or life, is irrelevant to education.

To conclude, the subject of informal education cannot be left off without some important elucidations relative to the meaning of the terms formal, informal and non-formal themselves as they qualify education. The first is that many educationists do not recognise the non-formal at all as a category in its own right; the usual distinction between formal and informal education. This is the case, for instance, with Dewey who asserts that:

One of the weightiest problems with which the philosophy of education has to cope is keeping that balance between informal education and schooling, the more incidental and the more intentional modes of education, but makes no reference at all to non-formal education as a distinct category from the two he mentions. This is not because non-formal learning is not recognised as education by because the tendency is to bury the non-formal within the category of the informal. Theorists who recognize the only proper distinction to be between the formal and the informal, in fact, tend to include within the latter class all learning that does not belong in the former. Thus, for instance, for Joe Park:

By informal education is meant that planned or deliberate instruction a tutor may provide, or a parent may give a child, or a master impart to an apprentice. But more than that it includes the self education a person may seek through a planned course of reading in the library, or secure through conversation with friends, or obtain by travel or general observation or by use of one or more of several mass media now so freely at hand. Thus informal education may be planned or deliberately imposed on another, or it may result from self-motivation and be self imposed. Sometimes it may result more from chance than from design. What distinguishes it from schooling is that there is no institution especially provided in which it takes place, although informal education may occur in school even during regular class time.

But, clearly, within this ponderous description, which scarcely allows any space for formal learning even, there is scope for sub-divisions that can be made coherently and effortlessly. Indeed the very ponderousness of the class of the informal as defined by Park cries for sub-division, and this is effected in a clear-cut and economic way by Chazan who furnishes the following technical definitions of each term that have the advantage also, in our case, of reflecting, more or less, the distinctions worked with within the lifelong education literature:

Formal education: the hierarchically structured, chronological graded 'education system', running from primary schools through the university and including, in addition to general academic studies a variety of specialized programmes and institutions for full-time technical and professional training.

Informal education: the truly lifelong process whereby every individual acquires attitudes, values, skills and knowledge from daily experience and the educative influences and resources in his or her environment - from family and neighbors, from work and play, from the market place, the library and the mass media.

Non-formal education: any organisational activity outside the

established formal system whether operating separately or as an important feature of some border activity - that is intended to serve identifiable learning clienteles and learning objectives.

One final remark about the relationship of informal learning defined as in Chazan and the lifelong education programme. The link between the programme and the idea of a 'learning society' is, as Cross-Durant claims, a conceptual one because of the inclusion of informal learning within the technical definition of education of the former. Since this inclusion makes the very social environment in which we live educationally relevant.

Contingent 'characteristics'

Cropley, while specifying, in agreement with our previous analysis, that the only 'characteristic' of lifelong education into which the concept can be 'unambiguously defined' is the temporal idea of education 'being available at all ages', distinguishes further, within the conceptual area of its contingent 'characteristics' referred to earlier:

two major ideas which, while not falling clearly into the first category just described are central to theorizing about lifelong education, and are not simply characteristics of the second kind.

The first is the understanding 'embraced by the idea that systematic and purposeful learning is not confined to schools'; the understanding just discussed of education as involving non-formal besides formal patterns of learning, and as including, therefore, deliberate self-education and possibly the participation of institutions and systems or networks other than the school, in the community.

The other is the understanding that lifelong education implies a 'humans' approach to learning which would avoid coercion and concentrate on building into learners in the early stages a positive motivation to learn, against other possibilities.

But, although he groups them together, it is clear that the

two ideas, major or otherwise, are not derived from the ideas of lifelong education with the same logical force. The first does indeed follow as a legitimate assumption on practical grounds, since it is questionable whether the extension of education in a lifelong sense could effectively be realized without some broadening of our understanding of education to include other learning agencies than the formal. It is, however, only a practical assumption that logically has other alternatives, assumption that logically has other alternatives, for it is perfectly possible to conceptualize life-long education without the inclusion of non-formal agencies; there is nothing in the bare idea of lifelong education itself that prevents it from being understood as lifelong schooling, the extension of formal education for life. This is precisely the fear of Illich and Verne, who express misgivings about the determination of lifelong education theorists to institutionalize the concept. For, they say, the institutionalization of lifelong education could serve to suffocate all the learning initiatives that are currently 'spontaneous' and would turn society itself into a 'global classroom'.

How is this criticism to be met? Before venturing an answer to this question, a little more needs to be said about the statement that the lifelong education theorists are determined to institutionalize the concept. This would in fact already appear to follow from the simple fact that its elaboration is being referred to as a programme. But this is not so, for programmes need not be intended for this purpose, they can be theoretically defined then left to the initiatives of individuals without any claim that institutions should respond to them. So it is important to stress that lifelong education theorists do indeed intend their programme to be institutionalized. Not only, they intend it to be so in the most far-reaching way, so much so that in 'concept characteristic' Dave distinguishes lifelong education as 'an organising principle providing a total system for all education' based on 'the universalist principle of education for

all at all ages'. Hence, apparently, justifying Illich and Verne's fears.

Not only, lifelong education theorists actually consider the proposal to institutionalize the idea of lifelong education to be the distinctive feature of the movement's programme. Otherwise, as we stated in the opening page of this chapter, and as critics who dismiss the current fuss' about lifelong education point out, the idea itself is an old one. To such criticism in fact Kallen replies in a manner that is typical of the theorists:

Every major idea can with some good will and much artisanship be traced back to antiquity, there is great merit in this demarche, as it allows us to see the continuity in human needs and in human thinking, as long as ideas do not become the focal point for policy and action, their political relevance is not obvious. In order to play this role, ideas need to be developed into models that can serve as the basis for policy-making.

And this is precisely the case with lifelong education. While Hawes, with the same intention as Kallen's in mind but replying to the more specific observation that in early cultures and in primitive civilizations lifelong education was actually a way of life, points out that 'the activities described were conceived piecemeal as a response to particular needs and not as part of a perceived educational philosophy.

In sum, then, the intention to institutionalize lifelong education is not only specified in the lifelong education programme, it is also considered to be a distinguishing feature of the programme. So, to return to the question, how is the criticism of Illich and Verne to be met? The answer must be sought in the programme itself, and this is where the importance of the technical definition of education with which it operates comes yet again to the fore. for the fears of Illich and Verne would be justified only if this definition of education restricted the meaning of the term to formal learning. In fact, as we have seen, the lifelong education understanding

of education also includes non-formal, as Chazan's definition shows, is that it refers to 'activity outside the established formal system'.

The second 'major idea central to theorizing about lifelong education', the 'humane' approach to learning it is supposed to imply, is not so closely tied to the idea of lifelong education as the first. For it is not obvious that the lifelong education idea need require any such approach either logically or in practice. This second 'major idea' would therefore seem to fall more squarely within the contingent class of 'concept characteristics' identified by Cropley than within the strongly contingent, which, one supposes, would be the class to which the 'major ideas' should belong. This gives it the same status more or less, qua 'concept characteristic', as the rest identified by Dave. For instance, it need not follow either, from the necessary temporal requirement built conceptually into the term lifelong education or from the requirements of practice, that the 'general' and the 'vocational' aspects of learning referred to in should interrelate or interact together within the same programme. A conception of lifelong education governed by purely economic or instrumental considerations could, for instance, translate itself in purely vocational terms, while, from a different point of view, a conception of lifelong education translated into 'general' or 'cultural' terms would exclude the vocational element altogether. Therefore, as with the claim with the 'humane' direction of the lifelong education programme, the principle that they should interact is a purely programmatic one reflecting a choice, pure and simple.

Theoretic difficulties

The use of words like movement and 'programme', and the setting up of Dave's 'concept characteristics' as a synthesized version of the lifelong education programme will so far have conveyed the impression of a clear and well-order lifelong education theory, with well-defined concepts and a coherent structure of principles both operational and ideological. That

impression is however quickly dispelled by Cropley's 'stocktaking' of the reaction to the lifelong education literature over the years:

Much has been written about lifelong education in the last few years. The idea has been advocated with almost 'theological' fervor, as one writer put it. By contrast, it has been criticized as a meaningless 'elastic concept'.

Cropley also ventures his reasons why the same body of writing should provoke such contrary and contrasting views as the ones he quotes:

The term is used in a variety of ways. For example, in one sense it refers to what Ruegg called 'a utopian idea' which is, at best, capable of stimulating people to think about education, but is not itself a goal and does not provide guidelines for change. Long has discussed in detail what might be called the 'philosophical' conceptualization of lifelong education. At its most superficial level this approach reveals 'the mystique of education' according to which, since education is a good thing, more of it would be even better, and lifelong education would clearly be the best of all. As Long put it, the view is also sometimes taken that learning is almost synonymous with living, so that to talk about lifelong education is almost the same as talking about lifelong living, and therefore requires no further discussion.

Criticism, in other words, is leveled at the programme at different levels. That of Ruegg and Elvin, for instance is aimed against the general theoretic approach in the literature which both describe as utopic. But it is seen differently by Pucheau, who describes lifelong education, by contrast, as an 'elastic concept'. The criticism of the former refers, in effect, to the direction taken by the early literature of the movement and is an accurate description of that literature, as will be shown in the coming section where 'the state of the theory' will be discussed. The latter's criticism, on the other hand, probably refers to work like that of Long who, as Cropley says, attempted something like a conceptual analysis of lifelong

education, with the results described by Cropley. Long's exercise in fact shows up the limitations of conceptual analysis where the terms involved are stipulative, revealing the programmatic prescription of a theorist or group of theorists, rather than concepts that evolved in the language, for the net result of his efforts is a vacuous tautology. Lawson, as we saw earlier, ruled out the possibility of any such analysis, though he considered this a deficiency in the concept rather than a limitation of analysis. The only possibility for conceptual analysis to yield any results in fact, in this case, would be, Lawson seems to indicate, to submit the concept of education, rather than lifelong education, to analysis, then prescribe the outcome for life. But this, we have said, is contrary to the implicit theoretic orientation of the movement's programme which defines education more broadly and is more interested in 'policy' than in 'conceptual truths', and would, in any case, produce an utterly different programme if one conceptualizes education in the manner described by analytic philosophy of education.

What is important, from our point of view, about the contrasting criticism of the lifelong education literature described in the previous paragraph is that it demonstrates that the literature is complex not unitary, embracing a plurality of theoretic approaches of which the utopic and the analytic may be but two, rather than representing a single paradigm. It is also clear that this pluralism creates problems for the theoretial presentation of a unitary programme for the movement, particularly if the theoretic approaches are contrasting as is the case with the two described.

The other difficulty that emerges from the criticism quoted by Cropley is one we have discussed already a few pages back. Is the lifelong education programme a 'trap' permitting perpetual control over people, as which and verne contend? The possibility that it could be is frankly admitted by the representatives of yet another theoretic approach within

the literature which we will refer to as the 'pragmatic' and which will also be discussed in the next section, who admit themselves preoccupied by it. Our earlier discussion of the problem concluded that the inclusion in the programme's technical definition of education of other than formal learning indicates that its intention is not to turn the 'learning society', which it speaks about, into a 'global classroom'. And yet the objection of which and Verne, and their general description of lifelong education theory as 'utopic' by Ruegg and Elvin, raise the question whether the normative aims of the programme, the part of its core that is politically ideological rather than educationally so, are sufficiently well defined to avoid ambiguity. The criticism does not indicate that they are.

In fact we saw earlier that Cropley claims a 'humane' direction for the programme. our subsequent discussion of this claim however showed that, as the criticism above also indicates, it is not necessary that a lifelong education programme, defined in terms of its operational characteristics only, should be humane. One also notes among Dave's 'concept characteristics' the claim that 'The ultimate goal of lifelong education is to maintain and improve the quality of life'. There is not however any subsequent elaboration of what this means in more concrete terms. As a normative statement. Therefore, it is about as enlightening as Croples's.

Cropley's own more condensed version of Dave's list, which he similarly claims to be the comprehensive one implicit in the publications of UNESCO', serving it as an initial working definition of lifelong education, contains an interesting if subtle development. The full version is as follows:

Educational should:

- (1) last the whole life of each individual:
- (2) lead to the systematic acquisition, renewal, upgrading and completion of knowledge, skills and attitudes made necessary by the conditions in which people now live:

- (3) have as its ultimate goal the promotion of the self-fulfillment of each individual;
- (4) be dependent for its successful implementation of people's increasing ability and motivation to engage in self-directed learning activities;
- (5) acknowledge the contribution of all available education influences, including formal, non-formal and informal.

The fundamental points can, in actual fact be seen to be substantially those of Dave, though in more economic form since the description limits itself to the barest principles. The interesting development referred to above, which naturally regards the normative statement of the programme, is point which announces that the ultimate goal of the programme is the self-fulfillment of each individual as against the statement in Dave that it is 'to maintain and improve the quality of life. Cropley adds that self fulfillment depends on 'people's increasing ability and motivation to engage in self-directed learning activities. Which is, again, a more specific re-statement of 'characteristic' or Dave's list which says that the 'three major requisites' for the individual's lifelong education are 'opportunity, motivation and educability'. What is conspicuously missing in Cropley, as compared with the 'concept characteristics' is the distinctive social dimension added to the concept by the latter in points and of the list, particularly in the latter where Dave states that 'lifelong education is rooted in the community.

Does it denote a change of direction, a shift of emphasis in the interim between the publication of the two lists, in the movement's ideological viewpoint? The question will be answered later. The general picture that we require at the moment has already begun to emerge. Although terms and expressions like 'self-direction', 'the quality of life', and, as we shall see later, 'democracy', in particular, are bandied about everywhere in the literature, more often than not accompanied by rhetorical statements in their regard, there is nowhere any

attempt towards a deeper analysis of them, per any attempt towards integration them into a coherent ideological position which would give the programme an unambiguous position which would give the programme an unambiguous normative direction. In short, the programme appears to lack that philosophical underlay against which it could measure itself. This notwithstanding Cropley's reference to a readily distinguishable 'philosophy' which he claim it co have:

The literature on lifelong education ... makes it clear that majority of writers in the area have indeed accepted, implicitly if not always explicitly, certain beliefs about the nature of man, good, society and education. In this respect there is an identifiable 'philosophy' of lifelong education, if agreement between thinkers concerning goals and values can be said to involve a philosophy. This 'philosophy' is loosely humanitarian and humanistic in nature: in theory, at least, writers on lifelong education would therefore not accept that any and all practices that have the effect of extending education throughout life reflected the 'philosophy' of lifelong education.

This is, one would agree, about. There are indeed goals and values held in common within the literature, statements that appear repeatedly in the works of different writers, declarations about the value of individually, the importance of self-realization as an educational aim, the indispensability of democracy as a measure of the quality of life.

The state of the theory

Cropley distinguishes two distinct theoretic trends within lifelong education theory. The work 'Trends is actually Ireland's, who makes substantially the same analysis as Cropley's. It fits well Cropley's further assessment of the differences between them as one of 'emphasis' rather than one than one that reflects any deep, underlying, operational or ideological disagreement. The principles the two 'trends hold are, in fact, similar: they are the basic principles of the programme outlined by Dave and Cropley. What separates

them, essentially, is their different manner of theorizing about lifelong education and of presenting the programme.

The difference can be expressed succinctly by stating that whereas the one is more interested in the construction of detailed future models' of lifelong education, and therefore reveals an 'optimistic and essentially utopic nature', the other is more interested in the practical possibilities of applying the operational principles of the lifelong education programme to different existent societies. The outlook of the former could therefore be described as 'utopic', While that of the latter could be called 'pragmatic'.

It is important to note that, in point of time, the 'pragmatic' appeared after the 'utopic' and, largely, in reaction to the criticism leveled against the early writing from different quarters. Some of this criticism was discussed in the section before this one, and the major point is summarized in Elvin's critical review of *Learning to be*, which is perceptive in some ways and extraordinarily unfair in others. Elvin attacks the report for its tendency to take refuge in rhetoric where some form of normative commitment is demanded, and our earlier discussion indicated this state of affairs as symptomatic of the 'utopic' trend. The reaction of 'pragmatic' theorists to this criticism has not, however, concentrated on rectifying this deficiency, though, as was pointed out earlier, they are particularly sensitive to the 'dual potential' of an operational lifelong education programme to act as an instrument of repression just as much as liberation. Rather, they have limited themselves, as Cropley's description implies, to proclaiming humanistic values, and have turned towards the 'neutral' social sciences for their theoretic approaches. In this way they avoid the charge of rhetoric and abstraction leveled against their predecessors while refraining from any deeper ideological statement.

A primary example of this approach is Gelpi, who

believes that lifelong education practices will be improved not by ideology but by sociological and comparative work; particularly by analysis of the obstacles that impede the operationalisation of the lifelong education programme in localised and international contexts. Gelpi, as was indicated in the opening page of the chapter, is an important, perhaps currently the outstanding, figure in the lifelong education movement. This is partly because of his position within UNESCO and partly because of his prolific contribution to the theory of lifelong education. The former means that he is extraordinarily well placed to monitor the lifelong education programme at the international level and to engage in the kinds of analysis just referred to. Gelpi, in fact, is interested both in the problems that inhibit the exchange of innovative views and practices at the international level and those that hinder the lifelong education programme at a more localised level, and he sees both aspects as closely interrelated together. It is therefore important to consider how he views the lifelong education programme which has germinated in the literature.

Clearly he adheres to its central strategic principles and to the programme's technical definition of the term education, but, at the same time, in accordance with the outlook of the pragmatic trend which he supports, for him, lifelong education 'is based on a dialectic it is not an absolute theory'. In other words, for Gelpi, within every society the concrete operationalization of the concept is achieved by the dialectical interaction of the operational principles of the programme with the social forces at work, particularly those that affect the productive sector. But although he set such stock on the prevalent socio-economic conditions, he does not, as Ireland points out, share Vinokur's view that a classless society is a necessary pre-requisite for the implementation of the programme. This is because Gelpi believes that in very society, no matter how repressive, there exists autonomy for educational action of some kind however small, and that this autonomy is

expressed by the presence of 'progressive' individuals within it, even though he does not underrate the political forces against their emergence and subsequent influence any more than he underrates the problems of exchange at the international level. It is these individuals, Gelpi stresses, who need to be attracted to lifelong education; they are the potential leaders of the 'long march through the institutions' required to implement its programme. Gelpi is therefore against 'imported models' of lifelong education. By contrast he affirms the need to bring the dialectical nature of the programme to the attention of these people since they are likely to be taken in by the current misrepresentation of it as something belonging to the rich, technologically developed countries of the world, as is currently happening with some of the more 'progressive' people in third-world countries who are set against it.

Finally, Gelpi makes it clear that the people he has in mind his 'progressive' educators, are not professional teachers, or at least not necessarily so, they can, and often do, come from different walks of life and can belong to any social group. Gelpi is as conscious as the other 'pragmatic' theorists of the 'dual potential' of the lifelong education programme, and as sensitive to the fact that as pure strategy it can be used by governments to create the most efficient form of conservatism possible. Thus he describes the tension it provokes theory-wise, as between:

an idealist approach and a negative moralist approach which is in fact also an idealist approach.

The solution to such a tension lies with 'a sociological and historical approach to lifelong education' which will give those struggling for reform and innovation insight into the opposing socio-political and economic forces already at work in their society. Thus the dialectic of the programme works as much against the conservative forces within society as the reformatory; in this sense the struggle to implement the lifelong

education programme cannot but be a political one. But what about political ideology? Granted that the struggle to effect educational change must be a political one and that the dialectic described as required will therefore not be anything but the political forces at work involved in the struggle—will the struggle itself over strategy not be defined by the strugglers in terms of more concrete underlying commitments of a political kind?

Gelpi, in point of fact, does state his own political ideology in different places. Ultimately he sees lifelong education as ideally part of a process whose ultimate objective is the achievement of a democratic egalitarian socialist society in which everyone participates on an equal footing. But at the same time he believes that utopic visions of this kind need to be balanced by hard realities which will fully expose the difficulties in the way of progress towards the ideal, and the dangers inherent in the lifelong strategy itself.

The fact that he does identify a set of ideal ideological principle for the lifelong education programme in effect, means little, for their systematic philosophical development is not part of his theoretical research programme. One could in fact say that his over political beliefs are kept in the background, but this is because underlying his research programme lies a faith in the immense power of educational strategy in itself to fulfill human goals through the very democratization and dissemination of knowledge which the lifelong education programme implies and through the very growth of the number of individuals committed to it. A similar optimism may be why theorists of the pragmatic trend in general, tend to be satisfied with an ideological commitment to humanism and to humane educational practices without feeling the need for any deeper specification of what this means.

But there are other reasons that could be just as compelling for adopting humanism as an ideological position.

One would be Lengrand's who argues that the established ideologies, liberalism, Marxism etc., as well as the leading religions, are currently in crisis and are therefore both incapable and unqualified to guide individuals living in times when the berry beliefs and values they possess are constantly challenged. The other, very different, one could have to do with Elvin's hypothesis about the lack of ideological commitment of the Faure report:

the necessity of abstaining from overt criticism of the social and political regimes within which, and often against which, educational reformers have to work, has meant that M. Faure and his colleagues could not go into their problem as thoroughly and penetratingly as an independent scholar might.

In other words it could, as this criticism says, be an imposition on the movement forced on it by its UNESCO sponsorship. Another reason still could be the need to present a broad homogeneity of outlook within the movement, which would not be a 'movement' otherwise, which could only, perhaps, be obtained by adopting an ideological underpinning for it that is permissive enough to embrace nearly everything.

We could only speculate which of these and other possible hypotheses could be the right one. Certainly, the term humanism has such a wide reference that it is capable of serving the purpose well if it is adopted deliberately to avoid specific ideological commitment. We have stated, however, that, for this person, it also tends to ambiguity of different kinds, though what these are will emerge clearly only after the next chapter. For before we discard it too readily for this reason, we need to see whether there are any advantages of a different kind humanism offers, and to dot that we will need to look a little more closely into what it means. For Lengrand's point, above, is a valid one, and so is that last suggestion made in the previous paragraph, that humanism has the permissiveness that suits an international movement. It may be therefore, that a more specifically defined humanism, by which I

mean a narrowing down of the options to a particular fail under its umbrella, in a manner which is consistent with the programme, will do the trick. The difficult problem, in this case, will be seen to be that of resolving the tension between permissiveness and dogma that worried many self-declared humanists.

Conclusions

The main task of this chapter has been to make a very preliminary evaluation of the programme of the lifelong education movement gravitating around UNESCO. It has been assumed that Dave's concept characteristics constitute an accurate representation of it on the basis of the fact that Dave's source was the extent writing on lifelong education over the years which his characteristics synthesized. Reference was also made to the UIE definition of lifelong education reproduced by Cropley in succinct form and holding tenets similar to those of Dave. The subsequent discussion of Dave's characteristics and of the terminological ambiguities affecting the state of the theory brought the following to light; (1) the term lifelong education is itself a potentially ambiguous one, for apart from the necessity that it should refer to education spreading over the life-span of individuals, there are different alternative views about how this condition can be fulfilled; the main difference being between the view that education should alternate with other phases and activities over the individual's life-span, and the view that it should be viewed as continuous with life itself. It was seen that the difference is reflected in different nomenclatures used instead of lifelong education, all of which are designed to capture the underlying idea of education for life but with this and other programmatic difference in mind. (2) The difference between programmes is in fact mainly owing to the technical definition of education with which the movement's lifelong education programme works and which includes informal learning consequences because it also makes necessary the inclusion within the programme of some

conception of a learning society. (3) The learning society itself can, in fact, be seen as the embodiment of the programmer's determination to so conceptualize education that at the operational level lifelong education that at the operational level lifelong education is an organising principle providing a total system for all education. This means that lifelong education theorists want the concept institutionalized; indeed it was seen that they consider this aspect of their programme and the operational recommendations to which it gives rise as their distinctive contribution to educational thought. But not institutionalized in the sense feared by Illich and Verne where it becomes a trap and an excuse to suppress all spontaneous initiatives.

It would be accurate to say that these three points include the main operational principles of the movement's lifelong education programme. There is also substantial agreement about many of their subordinate principles some of which are included in Dave's characteristics. Among these perhaps the most important are: that which places learning to learn, or the objective of self-directed learning, as the foremost goal of formal or institutional, education, and that which emphasises the educational value of the social environment itself. The first implies that value is placed on autonomous lifelong learning, the second reacts to the threat of a schooled society and of domination or oppression through lifelong education mentioned above, the third reacts to the traditional isolation of the school from life and to the prevailing belief that schooling and education mean the same thing, both of which prejudices undermine the lifelong education programme especially in its embodiment as a learning society.

It was seen that much of the earlier theorizing about lifelong education tended to be utopic, concentrating on abstract models of a learning society and presupposing a common fate towards which existent societies are inexorably advancing that of become a global community. The criticism

leveled against this approach, was, as we have seen, extensive and varied; for one thing it makes the concrete application of the operational programme to actual societies well-nigh impossible mainly because both the models themselves, and the principle that such models should be adopted, are unacceptable to many. The contrary reaction has been to emphasise the lifelong education programme not as a global model but as a set of principles working dialectically with the actual conditions, social, economic and educational, of different societies. The second major criticism concerns the lack of normative commitment of the movement's programme.

It is true that the Faure report and Lengrand, for instance, stress the fact that lifelong education can only reach its full expression in a democracy, while Suchololski similarly maintains that it is unattainable under certain social conditions that encourage alienation. There is also explicit commitment in the Faure report to scientific humanism as the guiding light for educational reform. But there is little further examination of these terms to be found, or elaboration of what they imply in specific socio-political and economic terms. At the same time the very ambiguity of a term like humanism could be a convenient reason for using it since its ambiguity is allied with its being, like democracy a hurrah-word a word which evokes positive responses when it is used since it is assumed, by virtue of its very meaning, to signify something valuable.

Lifelong Integrated Education

Autocracy of school education

The term life-long integrated education which is the English translation formally adopted by Unesco of education permanente, and whose equivalent in Japanese is shogai-kyoiku, has gradually been accepted in Japan since Professor Kanji Hatano, now President of Ochanomizu Women's University. Impressed by its notion in his participation in the Unesco International Committee for the Advancement of Adult Education in December 1965, he introduced it to Japanese educationists. Although it is self-evident that education should and does continue from birth to death so far as education means the whole process of personality formation, this new notion seems quite appropriate for the contemporary situation of Japan. If by education we mean not only school education but also all other aspects of education conscious or unconscious, intentional or unintentional, people are educated everywhere and life long. Therefore, the idea of life-long education seems neither new nor original. In fact, we think we should educate ourselves always in order to achieve a fuller life, so that this process of self-education or in Japanese shuyo should necessarily be endless since the task of fulfilling our life ends only at our death. We can educate ourselves, in other words, learn during our entire life, if only we have the will to learn. Thus while the idea of life-long education is nothing new, we feel today we need the very notion of integrated education, because our education has been so much disintegrated.

A hundred years have passed since Japan who has closed her shores from the rest of the world for three centuries saw the Meiji Restoration to be a modern nation-state adopting the various western institutions including compulsory education. Even before that time, however, Tokugawa Japan, with domestic peace of these centuries, had a considerably high degree of education. Long-lasting peace diminished the importance of military powers of the ruling class of samuraj, warriors, who has to become bureaucrats and to master sophisticated knowledge and skills for government. Even the military skills such as swordsmanship was sublimated into a kind of sophisticated philosophy of kendo. Feudal lords as well as central Tokugawa government established their own schools for training the higher strata of samurai, most of which were developed into secondary or higher institutions in Meiji. Long peace made a lot of lower samurai worthless in terms of military power and they has to suffer from economic poverty while it gave rise to wealthy merchants in cities. Poor samurai along with priests ran private schools called terakoya everywhere, especially in urban areas, which attracted children of commoners, and some of which became primary schools in Meiji. Thus school education has already been developed to a considerable extent even before the Meiji era. Perhaps this is one of the reason why education could expand so fast in modern japan.

The new central government of Meiji put the greatest emphasis upon education as an instrument for development of the nation. In order to survive in the then imperialistic world and to catch up with the advanced western nations, it was urgent and vital for Japan to have qualified personnel who could assimilate promptly the western technology and make the fullest use of potential human resources. It was also vital to develop the national unity among the people who used to live only in a small locality and whose loyalty was concentrated not in the nation as a whole but only in a feudal community. All of these national needs were relevant to education. The central

government started immediately the University of Tokyo as the training center of national leaders, high officials and high technologists. It was an offspring of the Shoheiko, the highest institution founded by the Tokugawa government. Thus the University of Tokyo had from the beginning a nationalistic and pragmatic character, as evidenced by the fact that law faculty for training future bureaucrats enjoyed the highest prestige. Its dean was automatically the President of the University, and in contrast to European universities, such practical faculties as engineering and agriculture were important components of the University from the beginning. This character has continued even when a lot of universities and colleges were created afterwards. The government protected and colleges were created afterwards. The government protected by all means the graduates of universities, especially the national ones. They could expect the highest status and income, even though they proved to be idle and incompetent in job. A formal certificate as a university graduate was enough. Higher education functioned as a substantial channel for upward mobility. No wonder people desired to have higher and higher education if they could manage. Indeed many poor parents who had a bright son encouraged him to go to college using the money they got by selling their property like fields. The income of the son once he finished higher education was great enough to pay the parent's sacrifice.

The institutionalized practice of giving the educated a real and symbolic profit was followed by two advantages. There was rapid growth of educational aspiration and expansion of school education among all the people. As a result, potential manpower could be discovered and utilized. Regardless of the class of this origin, an able youth wanted and could climb up the social ladder by means of education. Thus Japan has become a classless society to a certain extent. All the people looked at education as the most profitable investment and an equal opportunity for social mobility.

On the other hand, the central government tried to establish compulsory education in order to develop the national consciousness and loyalty to the nation among common people. The real value of education, as shown above, become so clear to everybody that people were motivated to more education. Compulsory education common to all worked as a reservoir from which selective higher education recruited the able few. In forty years from the start of the modern system, compulsory education was completed with almost 100 per cent of attendance. At present 80 percent of those who finish the compulsory education of nine years go to senior high schools of three year, and a fourth of the college age-group go to colleges, which enroll 1,600,000. In this manner schools education has expanded greatly in Japan. This remarkable expansion, however, is followed by various problems. We must point out first of all what may called 'disintegration of education' in the present context of this chapter. Disintegration of education manifests itself in two ways.

First, education comes to mean format certificate or diploma only. The substantial meaning of education is likely to be neglected while its symbolic function is overstressed. Those who go college, or their parents, want to get a formal diploma as a college graduate, ignoring the contents of college education. Society favours a college graduate regardless of his merit than a high school graduate who may have more ability. Graduates of a particular institution protect each other and treat others coldly regardless of their individual merit. Education which is to be a way to meritocracy is disfunctionary in reality. Those who are do not necessarily learn much during their school life can expect to enjoy higher status in their career. One may say that school education is disintegrated from real education, or that formal education is distinct from and independent of substantial education. If one can say that life is a permanent process of education, then school education is disintegrated from life itself.

Second, and in close connection with the first, school education is distintegrated from life-long education. School education, or rather the certificate of graduation, has so great an importance in the whole life that people are inclined to think only of school education and neglect all education other than schooling when they speak of education. Those who have the highest school education are considered and themselves consider to have need of no more education. Society makes the greatest effort to expand school education neglecting other fields of education. Thus education at home, further education, adult education, etc., has come to be ignored and depreiated. Too much emphasis upon school education leads to too little emphasis upon out-of-school education. Monopoly of the school in education is accompanied further by too heavy a burden on the part of the school since it takes every responsibility upon itself and people leave every task to the school, which cannot always be fulfilled and is out of its ability. Hence inefficiency of school education and distrust for it, in turn, leads to the recognition of importance of out-of-school education, lifelong education.

School has a system of graduation. School education presupposes completion, as one cannot remain in school forever. School in in turn wants to teach and cram everything while students stay there so far, as school is the only place of education. Hence once more there is over-burden for school as well as for students, and inefficiency of school education. In this way school education has an isolated, separate and independence place in education as a whole. namely life-long education.

Thus Japanese education is characterized by its expansion and monopoly of school education, neglecting other forms of education. This is course has an advantage of its own. High level of education among all the people, wide opportunity of social mobility open to able educated people regardless of their class of origin, energetic activeness of people who aspire to

move upwards through education, etc., are due to this. The disadvantage described above, namely the disintegration of education, becomes clearer and clearer as school education is expanding and as social change becomes faster. Concentrated and continuous effort for school education is now faced with sincere and fundamental reflection and re-examination. This reflection is concerned with the limitations which school has by nature.

First, school education is limited in time. In principle, since school is an institution devoted professionally and concentratedly to education, consisting of teachers and students whose chief business is education, i.e. teaching and learning, those whose chief business is not education cannot spend their labour time in school and cannot stay in school for their entire life. Thus status of students is usually confined to adolescent youth who are most capable to learn and who have longer time to use the results got in school for him and for society. Conversely older people over the normal school age find it harder to remain in school. Now, contemporary society is characterized by its rapid and profound change. In ever changing society, culture is quite short in its life. Traditional and established knowledge, technology and values soon lose their validity and relevancy. Look at technological innovation for example. The technology one learns in school soon becomes obsolete and out-of-date. In order to catch up with the technological innovation, one must continue learning after school. School which is limited in time can no more be the only place for learning.

Second, school is limited in space as well. Formerly school was the only institution that was able to offer systematic knowledge beyond the conventional and local one. Teachers there were the only and supreme intellectuals in their community. On the contrary, in an age of science and information like ours, neither school nor teacher can monopolize the status of a cultural center and the supreme

authority they used to enjoy. Everybody, including youth, gets out of school the information and knowledge which are most relevant and fresh to them. Mass media educate them much more persuasively than school teachers. When compared with the competent elite of mass media, teachers cannot but lose their former prestige authority and attractiveness.

Third, school is limited in flexibility. In a society which does not change so much and so fast, the notion that school education is identical with education can be valid to a considerable extent. Because the contents and volume of culture which society should transmit through school education to the next generation are predetermined and fixed, one need not study and learn after school if school is enough developed. Progress of school education can be regarded as that of education. In a rapidly changing society, however, one must learn ever after school. Hence the idea of life-long education. Since school education is an institutionalized formal education, it tends to be less adaptable to ever-changing and ever-growing culture. Culture which was suitable and valid in a time, once institutionalized as an orthodox and regular curriculum, is hard to abolish even if it has lost its social value and become out-moded. On the other hand, a new culture which is needed for a new society is hard to be adopted in a formal curriculum immediately. Moreover, school education tends to be uniform, especially in compulsory education, the chief function of which is to give minimal essential culture common to all the people. All students in all localities are and should be taught the same contents of curricula by the teachers of the same qualification. School education is thus hard to be individualized owing to this tendency. It is difficult for school to provide a variety of education corresponding to the variety of individual students and individual communities. School education tends to be average, and different needs cannot be met by it. Therefore, there remains a vast area of education outside the school.

Fourth, school education is limited in contents. Practically

every school devotes its greatest amount of time and energy to intellectual education. School culture is a culture of symbols: language, figures, letters, black-board, note-book, text-book, pencil, etc., which are instruments and tools for abstract, logical, conceptual, intellectual thinking and learning, are indispensable in school. Most of the time-table at school are concerned with education of subject-matters. Teacher, however superior in personality, who are not experts in some disciplines, must lose the qualification to teaching. School is created when culture in the society has been accumulated and complicated so much that it can no longer be transmitted in a conventional, informal way. Since it is the intellectual culture, knowledge and technology, that increase as time passes, school as an institution for transmitting the culture must inevitably be intellectual. Thus school tends to be isolated from real, practical life. The degree to which school can be responsible for moral and practical education has a certain limit, and it cannot claim to monopolize the whole education. School is an artificial, formal society. At compulsory level, children of the same age and of the same community enter a school, while at higher levels, school accepts students of the similar ability, interests and social background. Thus school society is much more homogeneous in contrast with general society which is composed of various categories of people. It is difficult in school to learn social behaviour patterns of a heterogeneous society.

Japan has seen for these several years the greatest and fastest change she ever had. She is entering into the so-called post-industrial stage of social development. The limitations of school education in which Japan has concentrated her effort since the beginning of Meiji are being more and more clearly and widely recognized. The government began to scrutinize the whole system of education. Under such circumstances, the notion of life-long education, especially life-long integrated education, many educationists believe, will give much insight and light for a complete reform of education. Though the idea

of life-long education has a long tradition in Japanese psychology, education stops in reality upon the graduation of school owing to the over-emphasis put upon school education. School education so far seems to discourage life-long education by producing people who think that education is profitable only as a passport for social mobility, that education is something compulsory and unpleasant, and education ends upon graduation. Thus school education is disintegrated in the whole life-long education. It occupies an isolated place in and distracts the life-long education. School education which has various limitations is isolated in life. It is disintegrated from life itself too. It is in some respects meaningless and irrelevant for life, and yet controls and takes responsibility for all education. If school education is to function properly in this changing society, it should be integrated in life-long education and real life. School education, far from considering itself as independent, complete and self-sufficient, should be the integral component of the whole education. Instead of trying to teach everything and producing people unmotivated to further learning, it should awake the motivation and interest in learning, teach the basic knowledge upon which further learning can develop as well as the method and techniques for learning. School should open the door widely to non-students too. Teachers should teach and lead not only their own students but also general public. School education should cooperate with all other fields of education. These are the new roles for school and teachers which the notion of life-long integrated education indicates in Japan.

Analysis of contemporary life

According to the idea of life-long integrated education, education should be integrated in life itself. School education so far is too distant from and too irrelevant to ever-changing life. Then what are the trends and characteristics of contemporary life to which education should be adapted?

Life can be seen in two dimensions, namely vertical dimension or life in time sequence on one hand, and horizontal dimension or life in space structure on the other hand. Contemporary life sees a tremendous and rapid change in both dimensions.

The former can be analyzed still further from three points of view. First is literally life from birth to death. A second view sees life in terms of component unit of one's whole life. The third refers to life in terms of maturation or development. These may be termed respectively life-cycle, life-rhythm and life-curve.

As for the first, life-cycle or life-span, Japan has witnessed a revolutionary prolongation of the natural span of life. Before the war it was said one lived fifty years, while at present average life is over seventy years long. In addition, spread of nuclear family, decreasing number of children per family, survival of traditional retiring age, among others, give rise to the new problems of life-long education. When a man retires at 55 of age, which is the usual practice in contemporary Japan, he must be faced with the problem, how to live a human and full life in free time of 15 years to come. When the last son or daughter of around 25 years of age leaves his or her parents' house, the new lonely mother whose only interest has been in her child must be at a loss to find the goal of her own life which will last for more than twenty years more. Perhaps education of the aged can give them the solution to enrich the remaining long life. Retraining the old labour powers, learning the general culture, pursuing the hobbies or voluntary social services, for example, may solve the problem, and all of them are relevant to non-school education. For working people too, change of life-cycle is producing a new educational problem. Owing to the expansion of school education, young people tend to spend longer time in dependent school life and yet labour power are fewer in number, so that people who finish school should work more productively in order to support ever

increasing dependent young and old. The improvement of productivity of workers needs further education more and more.

Then comes the change of life-rhythm. In a society like agricultural or primitive which is physically conditioned, the unit of time is season. Life is divided into labour time and free time by natural conditions. With the development of secondary and tertiary industries, a new unit of time emerges. Artificial units, like weeks and hours, determine the life-rhythm. Labour time and free time are distinguished artificially into week days and holidays and man works from say, 9o'clock in the morning to 5 in the afternoon. Night, which used to be time for sleep, becomes time more and more for activity. While it is one of the main tendencies that man has more free time, leisure, the development of new mass media, especially radio and TV, has the greatest impact upon life-rhythm. It is so to speak fragmentalized or compartmentalized by it. Individual life is regulated by the time table of mass media. Man listens to the TV news at particular time stopping his own free activity. Prolonged leisure is not necessarily free time, and through mass media public life invades private. Man learns all his life through mass media. Mass media is indeed the powerful instrument for life-long education.

Third, life-curve is profoundly changing too. Formerly, the developmental curve of ability and that of status went parallel and the lag between them was not so great. For instance, when one had mature sexual ability, one was given the corresponding status of husband or wife; when one has mature vocational ability, one got the status of a labourer. Now, however, there is no such parallelism or correspondence. Prolonged school life makes more people dependent. Students who have enough ability to work are forced to remain workless. Spectacularly accelerated physical maturation does not accompany the social, moral and mental maturation. The prolonged life span is inconsistent with the forced early retirement from vocational activity. There is a great gap

between ability and status due to the seniority system, gerontocracy and overestimation of formal education. As young people who are mature enough are not given appropriate responsibility and status, they feel discontentment and claim participation. Quite young children have a lot of knowledge and information about adult life, and yet they are kept removed from adult activities. They know sexual or consumer life of adult through mass media, but they neither know nor participate in the sincere and productive life of adults. There are a great number of lags among various life-curves, which lead to a maladjustment, discontinuity, tension and dissatisfaction. The special or structural dimension of life too has changed fundamentally. The change can be analyzed from two points of view.

First, kind of life. Individual life can be divided into two kinds, public and private. Public life refers to life with public control, public contribution and public reward. It is further classified into national, civic and vocational. Man as a national and a citizen participates in his nation and community by means of tax and ballot, observes the law, and in turn is given various benefits and protections. As a worker, he offers labour, follows rules and orders, and in turn gets salary and joy of work. Private life on the contrary is a life which an individual can live completely of his own will. It can be classified into family life and entirely private life. The most remarkable trend of contemporary life is separation between public and private lives. Owing to the development of secondary and tertiary industries, of huge organizations, bureaucracy, the increase of those farmers who are employed at the same time by a corporation, all of which are conspicuous in present-day Japan, are naturally followed by the increase of salaried employees. Their life is characterized by the separation of work-place and home. Work-place for production and labour is far separated from home for consumption and leisure. They spend their most active and strained life far from their home. This separation gives rise to various educational problems. Children cease to

have a chance to observe their parents working and to work themselves too. Each family member has a different life-rhythm, and there are fewer chances for all members to experience common activities. Vocational life in the working-place, which is characterized by monotony, tension, passivity, etc., due to mechanization and bureaucratization, tends to be inconsistent with humanness, while shortened labour time there leads to prolonged leisure time and promotes the attitude which gives priority to one's own family.

Another trend for life in terms of its kind is that the growing importance of national and civic life is being checked by the opposite tendency toward political apathy. Due to expansion of the functions of the government, the establishment of democratic institutions and others, the right, duty and need of people to participate in their municipality and state is growing and they can no longer maintain their life isolated from such larger societies. Political apathy in mass society, desperation for inefficient democracy, lack of sense of community in mobile urbanites, along with loyalty either to one's firm or to one's family, all contribute to the decreasing sense of community and state in spite of their importance.

An individual as such lives a purely private life which is growing too in its importance. He should enrich his life by making the most of his free time which is increasing. In the routinized and mechanized work, he could not realize his individuality and creativity. But here too, this kind of private life encounters the negative trends. The obsessive fashions such as TV programmes in vogue invade here. One feels one must read popular magazines and listen to popular topics in order not to be behind the society. Innovation of work forces workers, especially professional and managerial, to devote their free time to the study relevant to their work. Thus free time is not really free but occupied and busy.

The second angle from which special or structural life is to be analyzed is life-space whose change can be said to be

revolutionary too. Life-space or life-circle has unprecedentedly expanded owing to the tremendous development of transportation, mobility, motorization, tourism, economy and so on. Nowadays there is scarcely anybody who remains in his own community for the whole life. Hence the increase of the "up-rooted" people and the disappearance of the sense of "native heath", the sense of local solidarity. Each community has lost its own local colour and is similar and uniform. The influence of Tokyo is so great that all the nation is Tokyonized so to speak. Uniform community loses its own individuality just as an individual, a home and a school lose their own.

Life space in consciousness, however, has expanded more rapidly and more widely than that in reality. In other words, psychological life space surpasses physical life space. People live in wider world of information and knowledge than the world in which they live physically. People know even more about the moon and Vietnam than their own neighbourhood and community. The range and extent to which their consciousness extends, that is, their psychological life is lived, is far more distant from their real life. Thus there takes place a kind of confusion of distance or a discrepancy between the psychological and real life. Psychological life space is the world of indirect experience composed of concepts and images which are given chiefly by education and mass media. It is separated from reality, and yet people tend to think it real and more important. Especially young people who participate less and less in real life of productive labour live only an unreal life and are likely to be over-ideological and/ or over-emotional. Between the world in which adults live and that of youth there is a great distance and difference from which the generation gap appears. Between the life of the past and that of the future there is a discontinuity, and knowledge of the former is not enough for the latter. Distrust in the past and uneasiness for the future are inevitable. Momentalism and opportunism are likely.

Thus in every aspect of contemporary life, man is subject

to tension, separation, fragmentation and alienation. In a word, life itself is disintegrated today. Not only between school education and education as a whole, or between education and life, but also among various aspects of life there is a great distance. Disintegrated life leads to an alienated life. There are many who lose joy of living, ultimate aim of life, sense of dignity of human life and sense of identity. Thus we arrive at the last and supreme dimension of life, philosophical or ideological life so to speak. Thus is the core of life, which only can integrate life and give the real meaning to life. Truly biological life becomes longer, material life more abundant and intellectual life richer, but who can say mental life becomes fuller? Many have lost true happiness, individuality and creativity. All people ask themselves, consciously, or unconsciously, why they live. Society itself is confused and fragmented and conflicting. It has lost consensus and ultimate objective. Integration of education needs in the last analysis integration of life in this innermost and ultimate aspect. Realization of the true life is of course a life-long task, and man should strive to live the fullest life until he dies. Therefore, education for life should continue from cradle to graveyard. The highest principle of life-long integrated education lies in the true life. We are afraid that today's education forgets this principle.

Means for life-long integrated education

Now let us describe briefly the main opportunities Japanese society provides for life-long education. What kind of education do various groups of people receive out of school?

First, school education has come to realize, though gradually, its own limitations and tries to be open to more people. Primary and secondary schools which exist in every community and which are the community centre for the inhabitants in cooperation with PTA, often sponsor a class for parents mainly on the topics such as how to rear the child or what the child psychology is. Many schools in metropolitan

zone open their playgrounds after school and on holidays under the guidance and supervision of voluntary adults. The school cultural festival and school sports demonstration once or twice a year are really the concern of the whole school district. Several vocational secondary schools run evening classes for retraining the workers, on computer, electronics or human engineering and the life, which are welcomed very much. An agricultural high school near the city runs what they call College for the Aged. There is a series of sessions in which lonely old men and women live for a week, studying general culture, cultivating the soil and taking care of birds and flowers. In summer there are university extension courses, which are far from satisfactory when compared with English and American counterparts though. Evening courses are also run by a few universities in metropolis, but it is also incomplete, since the students there are mainly not ordinary working adults but those who could not enter full-time day course due to their failure in the entrance examination. The government is planning to open the University of the Air after the model of the British Open University. So-called miscellaneous schools, *kakushugakko*, which are not recognized as formal regular schools under the School Education Act, which accept all categories of people regards less of formal qualification, and whose period of schooling and curricula are extremely varied and practical, ranging from computer or management through secretary-training or car-driving to cooking or flower arrangement, exist everywhere, day and night, large and small in size. Old and young, educated and less educated, male and female, are learning there. These schools are run privately and profitably. Their counterparts for children and students are called children-class or *juku*. Main courses there are piano playing, abacus, calligraphy or English conversation, along with preparation for entrance examination to higher schools.

Similar in character to the miscellaneous schools, there are so-called social correspondence education, *shakai-tsushin-*

kyoiku. This is operated by non-profit private bodies accredited by the Ministry of Education. It offers mainly practical and vocational courses. Of course there is another kind of correspondence education run by regular schools and universities, providing the same credit and annual residential schooling. The students there are those who have a job usually.

Second, as in all other countries, there are public libraries, museums and other institutions for further of popular education, mainly supported by government, local as well as central. Komin-kan and seinen-no-ie are perhaps more unique facilities. They are established all over the country with the intention to promote group learning activities among ordinary citizens. The former with a small library, common rooms, cooking room and other facilities offer study classes, lectures, exhibitions and chances for neighbors to meet and discuss together and to form voluntary social groups. The latter are established mostly in scenic places far from urban areas and well equipped. Youth who are suffering from loneliness and lack of physical activities in cities and at factory and office stay there for several days, having a series of lectures on such topics as the meaning of youth, group dynamics, the future of Japan, enjoying recreation, sports, chorus, and living together among friends of different localities and occupations. Libraries in Japan are not so developed as in western countries perhaps due to Japanese custom of reading. Ordinary Japanese buy or borrow from their friends books they want to read. Every house, especially of intellectuals and white collar classes, has its own library of about a thousand volumes. Japan is the second or third in numbers of books published in the world. Perhaps Japanese are one of the most book-loving people, although the habit of reading is being challenged by T.V.

Mass media, especially broadcasting and newspapers, are most influential and show unique development in this country. Statistics tells that an average Japanese looks at TV three or four hours a day, in spite of sensationalism and commercialism

of private programmes. NHK, public station, puts a great emphasis upon education. Its one channel is entirely devoted to education. It runs a broadcasting senior high school of its own, offering the same credit as an ordinary school. Japanese newspapers have different character from foreign ones. Quality papers with huge circulation of some millions are at the same time like high-brow magazines, having a high level of commentary essays, professional reviews on international politics and economy and a series of literary novels. The part played by broadcasting and newspapers cannot be ignored in Japanese education.

Lastly, most firms operate an on-the-job training institution of their own. Managers now consider it the duty of school education to give the basic and general education upon which their corporation can and should train them professionally and vocationally. Innovation in industry is so fast and vast that school can no more give the up-to-date technology and knowledge. Narrow education by school would be harmful to professional education by individual industry. Half a year of the new employees is usually spent for this kind of education. The government too operates various kinds of retraining institutions for workers. For example the Ministry of Labour runs Vocational Training Centres and Young Workers Homes, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry the Farm Youth Training Farms and Life Modernization Centres.

In conclusion, although there are a few chances as seen above for further education, integration between school educational and life-long education, between education and life, is not consciously and systematically realized yet. Traditional over-emphasis upon school education is not fully overcome especially by individuals. Education for integrated life is only partially aimed at. This is the reason why the idea of life-long integrated education gave the Japanese educationists like Professor Hatano a fresh and stimulating insight.

Idea of Lifelong Learning

The traditional view of education is that it is a process which occurs in childhood and youth, its purpose being a preparation for adult life. Johnson, for example defines education as "formation of manners in youth; the manner of breeding youth: nurture". Among writers on education it is not only those of a conservative turn of mind who demonstrate the same attitude. Thus Comenius, in the table of contents of the *Great Didactic*, outlines his basic principles as follows:

- If a man is to be produced, it is necessary that he be formed by education.
- A man can most easily be formed in early youth, and cannot be formed properly except at this age.

Locke's prescription for education stresses that virtue is to be attained by the formation of good habits through a long and rigorous discipline of the appetites throughout childhood and youth. Rousseau's *Emile's* education is finally completed at the age of 20, and it is enough to enable him to cope with all the subsequent vicissitudes of an improbably eventful life. Montaigne sums up the tradition by quoting a story from the Greeks: "Agesilaus was once asked what he thought most proper for boys to learn. 'What they ought to do when men' was the reply."

In a static society it is possible to foresee with some confidence the role which a youngster will play when he is grown up, and what he should do in that role to ensure the conservation of the wellbeing, real or assumed, of the society

to which he belongs. In a society of which change is more characteristic than continuity, to predict future adult roles with any certainty, or what actions they will call for, is impossible. It is true that no society has ever been altogether static, that every society is always in a state of becoming, but in modern industrialized societies the rate of change, based on the deliberate expansion and purposeful application of knowledge, has no precedent. The difference in degree is so great as to create a difference in quality.

Of course, however rapid the changes which a society undergoes in its circumstances and material conditions, it is likely to have beliefs about certain fundamental attitudes and behaviour patterns which it will try to inculcate in each new generation. This process of socialization goes on in the family, and it may be the function of specialized institutions as well, of which with us schools are the chief. But this is educating the child in what he must be, both now and in later life, not what he must do when he is a man.

Another characteristic of the traditional view of education is to regard it as a process by which one person—the teacher—does something to another—the pupil. In fact, what matters is what the pupil does, what mental or physical activities he is persuaded, by one means or another, to undertake. Each man must learn for himself; it is an individual, internal experience, and no one else can do his learning for him. However, at least until recent years, the didactic aspect of education and the role of the educator have been emphasized more than the learning aspect and the role of the educand.

This follows partly from the customary association of education with certain institutions, notably schools, colleges, and education in which the gap in age, and therefore experience, between the teachers and the taught almost inevitably produces something of a *de haut en bas* attitude, with an emphasis on the teaching rather than the learning

function. The current changes in schools in this country are essentially a reversal of this emphasis.

The identification of education with schools, colleges, and universities obscures the fact that learning starts before school-age, and that it does not cease with attendance at school, college, or university. For some men and women learning continues until almost the end of life. William James believed that it was almost impossible for anyone over 25 to acquire any really new habits or new ideas. Everyday observation seems to refute James's opinion and indeed a good deal of research during the last years goes far towards corroborating the conclusions prompted by common experience.

That intelligence declines after reaching a peak somewhere between the year of 15 and 25 has been shown by, amongst others, Dr. D. Wechsler, but deterioration in intelligence does not mean ineducability. Dr. D. B. Bromiey says:

As far as we know nothing can be done to retard or prevent this decline though we may try to limit it by keeping physically fit and intellectually active. In some circumstances it is possible to compensate for an age decrement in intelligence by using what intellectual resources we have in a fuller and more efficient fashion. This may sound paradoxical but all it means is that, by rearranging our methods of learning and thinking, we may make up for a slight loss in ability.

This view is borne out by the work of Dr. Eunice Belbin and Dr. R. M. Belbin, of the Industrial Training Unit, who have demonstrated that:

Where an appropriate method of training can be developed, older trainees often achieve results comparable with those of their younger colleagues. Training Method appears to be far more crucial for the old than for the young.... It seems consistent with the evidence to argue that trainability, adaptability and flexibility of mind have a certain common physical basis which

physical ageing affects untavourably, but that this can be compensated by practice in modifying and adapting behaviour... Learning in middle age and even late maturity may on longer become an exceptional activity. It is our hypothesis that such activity will not only improve the vocational qualifications of adults, but prolong that flexibility of mind which is rated so highly in the changing of jobs.

Undoubtedly certain kinds of original thinking do not occur after the age of 25 or 30; we wait for the spark from heaven, but still it delays. Dr. E. H. Leach, generalizing a little too expansively perhaps in his Reith Lectures, advised the oldsters to quit stage and be about their business. But that cordial gerontologist, Dr. Alex Comfort, rejected Dr. Leach's sweeping conclusions.

There is no physiological bar to remaining adaptive, some attitudes do decline with ageing from a fairly early age, but in fact we seem to compensate for this by greater experience, and there is no period when new skills cannot be learnt. In some people you get a decline in originality, but I think this depends on their personality rather than on their age... It is probably our own cultural expectation and not our brain-cell number which determines whether we are rigid in old age or whether we are adventurous and adaptable.

The accumulated wisdom of generations tells us, in proverbial form, that we cannot teach an old dog new tricks, so we rarely try. There is another proverb, of at least equal validity, to the effect that if you give a dog a bad name, it sticks. If we categorize individuals or groups as ineducable they will almost certainly prove so.

Lifelong learning is not only feasible for most men and women; it is also desirable and perhaps essential. Twenty-five years ago Sir Richard Livingstone expressed the need succinctly:

What lovers of paradox we British are Youth studies but cannot act; the adult must act but has no opportunity of study; and we

accept the divorce complacently... We behave like people who should try to give their children in a week all the food they require for a year; a method which might seem to save time and trouble, but would not improve digestion, efficiency, or health.

Livingstone wrote as one nurtured in the liberal tradition which had its roots in classical learning and which was conscious first and foremost of a man's significance as a citizen as a political being. The authors of the famous 1919 Report of the Ministry of reconstruction Adult Education Committee, in some of whom the ferment of T.H. Green's teaching was still at work, described adult education as "a permanent national necessity, an inseparable aspect of citizenship should therefore be both universal and lifelong".

The economic recovery of the nation the sound exercise of the new spirit of assertion among the rank and file, the proper use of their responsibilities by millions of new voters, all alike depend on there being a far wider body of intelligent public opinion after the war than there was before, and such a public opinion can only be created gradually by a long, thorough universal process of education continued into and throughout the life of the adult.

So expressed, the need for the continuance of education appears to be solely in the interests of well-ordered political society based on a sound economy. The social need is undoubted, but so also is the need of the individual. Of course individuals exist only in societies and societies consist of individuals, yet to distinguish the needs of the individual from those of society is convenient for purposes of discussion. A man cannot achieve, or even discover, the potentiality of which he is capable unless he continues to learn; only so can he make the most of himself. Anyone acquainted with WEA and university tutorial classes, or colleges such as Ruskin, Hillcroft, Harlech, Fircroft, and Newbattle Abbey, can point to numbers of men and women, working as miners, routine clerks, shop

assistants, or factory hands who, in their twenties or thirties or forties have discovered their abilities and have been able to qualify for intellectually more rewarding jobs such as teaching, social workers, and trade union organization. But how many potential teachers, social workers, and trade union organizers, frustrated through poor schooling in their early year, remain undiscovered in mines, offices, shops, and factories? "Youth shows but half", indeed, but for many the other half remains unrevealed, and the possibilities that are available only to the adult, with his broader experience and maturity of judgment, go undiscovered, unexplored. It may be true that in a simple and static society a man soon exhausts the range of experiences open to him and that his educational needs to make sense of them are minimal. In a complex and rapidly changing society the needs are of a different order. Nowadays for a man to live at the height of his times calls for a strenuous and pretty continuous struggle; and lest that be thought a dismal prospect, it is worth recalling the pleasant simile which Halifax employed to describe the struggle for truth. To think of adult education as being merely remedial, as the poor man's opportunity to make good some of the deficiencies of his schooling is to see twentieth-century Britain through Victorian spectacles.

However, in a rapidly changing society it is the social need for the continuance of education that increasingly makes itself felt.

There is, most conspicuously, the vocational need. It cannot now be assumed that when a young man or woman had finished his or her apprenticeship, or taken a university degree, or completed a course of professional training, he or she is set up for life. Some men and women will find that the jobs for which they were trained disappear long before they themselves reach retiring age. Unless they learn a new job they will join the ranks of the unskilled or the unemployed. The Industrial

Training Act, 1964, is a recognition of this disagreeable truth. It is not only in industry that, because of changes in techniques and processes, the worker must continue to learn. It is arguably even more important for managers and administrators, faced with the need to understand and utilize new ideas, not only in technical processes but also in economics and in industrial psychology, industrial sociology, and industrial relations. In the professions, most conspicuously perhaps in medicine and engineering the man who does not keep himself up to date is at the best inefficient and at the worst dangerous. Sir Eric Ashby's suggestion a few years ago that university degrees in science should lapse after ten years unless refurbished dramatically drew attention to the disconcerting acceleration in the rate of growth of knowledge, at least in certain fields, and this is, indeed, the practice in some countries, as for example, France and the USSR, where certain licences are not valid, without refreshment, beyond a specified period. The surgeon and the physician, the civil engineer and the accountant, the teacher and the librarian, as well as the fitter and turner, the machine-minder, and the chargehand, will all have to go back for periodical "retraining". For some it will not be a welcome experience, and, as Doctors Belbin have said: Many of the future problems of adult reluctance or inability to learn might be solved if today's young worker could build continued learning so fully into his habit pattern that he took it for granted."

Whilst it is true that the vocational element in lifelong learning is important, there is a danger of giving it undue emphasis, of mistaking part for the whole. Other aspects of lifelong learning are no less important. Moreover it is by no means clear what proportion of men and women are, or are likely to be, engaged in work that requires a high level of training, or frequent retraining. There is a real danger that where intelligence and skill exceed the job requirements, over qualification will result in frustration. No doubt this does not

apply for example, to nuclear engineering, electronics, pharmacology, surgery, and other fields in which constant and spectacular advances of knowledge are being made. But these are not the industries in which the big battalions are employed. The distributive trades account for more workers than all forms of engineering put together; transport and communications for three times as many as the chemical and allied industries. There seems no prospect that shop assistants, but drivers, railway porters, and so on are going to be faced with sudden innovations due to technological developments. For many men and women, probably the majority, the working life will involve, as it has done in the past, gradual adaptation to changed conditions and almost unnoticed informal acquisition of new skills rather than a series of cataclysmic revolutions and fresh starts. A good many jobs can be picked up well enough on the sitting next-to-Nelly principle. Ironically, learning how not to work, how to occupy one's time agreeably in retirement, may be more difficult to pick up, because for the most part retirement is a solitary occupation with no experienced Nellies to sit next to. The social disengagement which only too often accompanies old age would be mitigated if lifelong learning became an accepted habit.

It is a mistake also to stress too much the economic significance of lifelong learning. An industrialized society is so dependent upon education for its continuity and development that there is a tendency to see the maintenance of economic prosperity as being the *raison d'être* of education. This narrowly utilitarian view of education, thus explicitly reflected on our actions and our arguments. Perhaps a materially poor society must adopt a utilitarian attitude towards education, but a society which has achieved a fair measure of affluence, whether compared with previous stages of its own history or with other societies in the contemporary world, can afford to take a more liberal view, and recognize that education is, quite simply, part of the Good Society; it is a good in itself, an end, not merely a means to an end.

The fact that, for many people, scientific and technological changes are not going to revolutionize their jobs, does not mean that they will be unaffected by scientific and technological development, but they will be affected as citizens, in their ordinary everyday lives, more than as workers. Technology impinges on social life at a hundred points, calling for adjustment to change and presenting new opportunities for enhancing the quality of life. Unless lifelong learning is a reality, the adjustments may be uncongenial because not understood, and the opportunities will be neglected.

In social life the technological developments which have had the most fundamental consequences are those associated with transport and communications, for they have created new sets of human relationships. We can no longer live in small, close-knit, communities insulated from outside contacts; the ubiquity of the printed word, the immediacy of radio and television, the normality of air transport, the cheapness of the bus, mean that people are brought into contact with one another as never before. The shrinking of the world that has resulted from faster, cheaper, and more accessible means of transports and communication has become so much a cliché that its consequences in terms of new human relationships are forgotten. New relationships create new moral problems. In Elizabethan England the parish was the accepted unit for organizing the communal relief of poverty; parishioners were neighbours, and both on grounds of Christian charity and of self-regarding interest it could be seen that there was a responsibility not to allow them to starve. It is not easy today to see where the geographical limits of responsibility are to be set, if they are indeed anything less than world wide. This is a new state of affairs into which the present generation has been pitched without much preparation for dealing with it. The days are past when relationships between nations could be left in the hands of a small number of professionals. In a country which tries to live and operate as a democracy, its conduct towards

other countries is a matter of general consensus and collective responsibility. Even under the most favourable conditions it is a responsibility difficult to exercise, and without "a long, thorough, universal process of education continued into and throughout the life of the adult" there is little hope that it will be exercised wisely.

In the social life of Britain the conspicuous and momentous change wrought during the last two decades by the transport and communications leap forward has been the immigration of men, women and children from other countries, with physical characteristics, and sometimes with languages, religions, and patterns of behaviour different from the indigenous. Thousands of people have had to work out new human relationships, in situations unlike any they have previously experienced. It is easy to preach general doctrines of tolerance and goodwill, but something more than that is needed for people to be able to understand the situation into which they have been plunged, often involuntarily. One main purpose of schooling is the socialization of the young; now the process of socialization cannot stop with school, but has to be continued into adult life.

These are only a few examples of social changes resulting from scientific and technological changes. Even more important are the social, political, and moral questions which will have to be faced in consequence of advances in biology. Man, having brought his physical environment under control, is well on the way to being able to determine his own numbers and his own qualities. How ought he to use the new knowledge-and who is "he" for this purpose? Will "he" be able to answer the question without more study and reflection than school or university permits? To do nothing, to leave everything to chance or to nature, to neglect the possibilities that the science of genetics brings within reach-even this is to make a decision. The determination how their knowledge should be applied is no a

burden to be thrust upon the geneticists themselves, nor a responsibility which they should be allowed to undertake, even if they wished to do so. The decisions must be the responsibility of society as a whole; it will be a tragedy for mankind if they are taken ignorantly and carelessly.

One conspicuous consequence of the extension of biological knowledge and the improvement of medical skills is that more of us are living longer. Common prudence suggests, therefore, that the preservation of the *sanum corpus* takes on increasing importance, and that means something more than absorbing the right drugs at the right time. It seems very likely that if we treated our bodies more intelligently we should live out our lives more happily. Some people go to keep-fit classes, indeed, but they are the peculiar minority, and keep-fit classes, in themselves, are not a complete physical education. It is scarcely rational that most of us are more concerned about the fitness of our only, but certainly a main motor-cars than of our bodies. We are taught, compulsorily, how to operate our motor-cars, but not many adults know much about operating themselves, and the medical profession shows little anxiety about the laity's ignorance.

One by-product of the economic prosperity that has resulted from improved industrial technology is the "democratization of culture", to use a term more frequently employed on the Continent than in this country. In one aspect it represents an increase in the number of people having contact with and finding satisfaction in those aspects of accumulated human achievement which are commonly understood by the word "culture". It is only when men and women are free from the constant physical problems that accompany poverty-at least in a country with a climate like ours- and have some time to themselves that they can begin to test and savour or reject the human achievement in such fields as literature, the natural sciences, music, the visual arts, engineering, architecture.

Cultural interests may develop at almost any stage in life if something of the natural curiosity of childhood can be preserved unvitiated living. One criterion of a good society is the extent of the opportunities and the encouragement which it gives for the development was of cultural interests. In the nineteenth century the operative ideal was political equality, which formally, and in fair measure in reality also, has been achieved, which normally, and in fair measure in reality also, has been achieved. The concern for social justice in the twentieth century takes the form of a striving towards, if not economic equality, at least an economic leveling. Perhaps the twenty-first century will take as its operative ideal equality of cultural enjoyment.

There are those who find this a suspect doctrine, who see in the high culture of the past only the toys of a privileged minority, unrelated to the needs of today, who find truth only in the achievements of peasants and working men, and who believe that a superior class allows the lower classes to have some access to its culture only in order to corrupt their values and manners and to suborn them from their true end, to challenge the privileged position of the superior class. No one seems actually to have detected a group of peers of the realm or members of the Athenaeum in such a conspiracy, but there is something in the criticism, in so far as the indiscriminating acceptance of past achievement may obscure the need for the constant challenge of accepted values, and distract attention from the range and extent of contemporary achievement.

Indeed, one aspect of the widened access to culture is the opportunity for men and women to make their own contribution to the culture of their generation. This is one of the purposes of lifelong learning, a purpose in which the French "socio-cultural" approach to adult education is more relevant and more reading than the British typically didactic approach. It is recognition of the importance of leisure, a part of life as

important in our industrialized society as it was to the Athenian citizen.

This is a convenient point at which to say something of the relationship of learning and education. We learn in an enormous variety of ways: because we choose because we must; systematically or casually; intentionally or subconsciously; from the works of philosophers or from gossip in the pub; from travel or from cultivating our own gardens; from newspapers, television, radio, from books, drama, music; from watching and imitating others whose skills we admire; simply from living. Education has been variously defined, and there is no need to add to the collection of definitions. For our present purpose it is intended to be understood in a rather simple-minded way as opportunities deliberately contrived with the purpose of creating situations favourable to the process of learning. Because the opportunities are deliberately contrived it follows that there must be a conscious initiator, that is an educator, whether it is the Secretary of State for Education and Science or Fagin, a powerful local education authority, a three-man self-improvement society, or an individual educand following the course of study which he has set himself.

For reasons which have already been advanced-and they are certainly not exhaustive-it is important that lifelong learning should come to be seen as normal and as necessary. "Lifelong learning" is not a particularly felicitous term; to some it will seem a bit folksy, and to others it will smack of a sentence to many years' hard labour. "Continuing education" sounds rather better, but it is already used, especially in North America, to denote in particular continuing professional education, and it tends also to obscure the fact that lifelong learning is compatible with discontinuous education. There is a time to seek and a time to lose, a time to keep, and a time to cast away; different phases in the life of a man or woman bring different interests, different problems, different potentialities,

and from organized forms of education. Discontinuity in education is natural; discontinuance of education is like a mental amputation. It seems that we shall have to put up with the phrase "lifelong learning" for want of one that is equally accurate but linguistically more becoming.

If it is accepted that the education of adults has the order of importance that has been asserted, who is responsible for it? The immediate answer must be that every adult is responsible for his or her own education. It is not quite unthinkable that some adult education might be made compulsory by the state—learning how to draw a bow or how to wear a gas-mask, perhaps—but the examples are sufficiently far-fetched to prove the rule that in a country which professes a liberal democratic way of life, adult education is, and must be, a voluntarily undertaken activity belonging to that segment of life in which a man is autonomous.

That a responsibility rests on each individual adult is only a partial answer to the question. The way in which the adult exercises his responsibility will depend upon the mores of the society of which he is a member. Most of us behave most of the time in the way which is expected of us. It is a sign of a good society that it pitches its educational expectations high, that its members feel that to continue their education has social approbation, is indeed the normal and proper thing to do. That is, today, the attitude of part of our population, probably rather less than half; amongst the remainder the continuance of education is rejected as being abnormal, it receives social disapprobation, and the individual who undertakes it is conscious, painfully or arrogantly, that he is not as other men. We have two nations, but not quite as Disraeli saw them; we have two cultures, but not in C.P. Snow's sense. A dichotomous society, in which the separation is on the base of interests, whether material or incorporeal, may perhaps manage to hold together in spite of internal strains, but where the

separation is a manifestation of fundamentally different values held by the two segments, a long and happy future for the society seems contra-indicated. To discover why, for one half of our people, learning in some form remains a persisting activity, whilst the other half opt out for good as soon as they have left school, if not before, would undoubtedly highlight some disquieting features of our society. Certainly those who opt out are likely to be the children of parents who took the same line, and in all probability their own children, in turn, will act as though intellectual curiosity, learning, education, are not for them. The two nations tend to perpetuate themselves and their mutual isolation.

The major responsibility for adult education must, therefore, rest with government. In the modern world the well-being of society is an important function of government, and in every state education is accepted as a public responsibility, whether exercised by central or local organs of government. It must accept this responsibility because of its concern for the quality of social life, with which education is inextricably bound up. It must accept the responsibility, too, because much of the organization of education needs to be done on a communal basis and to be financed from public funds. In this respect, education is in the same category as road building, refuse collection, national parks, sewage disposal, and protection against fire.

It is a hundred years ago that the state, by the Act of 1870, recognized an obligation to ensure the general availability of elementary education. Its concern for secondary education dates from 1902, and for university education from 1919. The Education Act, 1944, spelt out the responsibility in specific terms. We now have a Secretary of State "whose duty it shall be to promote the education of the people of England and Wales and the progressive development of institutions devoted to that purpose" The people of England and Wales include the

adults, as well as the children and adolescents, although this seems scarcely compatible with the inconspicuous concern evinced by Secretaries of State for their education.

Public expenditure on adult education is impossible to calculate exactly. It may amount to —10 million a year, but however it is calculated it amounts to less than 1 per cent of the total public expenditure on education. The Department of Education and Science is overwhelmingly child-centred. Secretaries of State may exhort local education authorities to look to their primary education, their secondary education, their youth service, their technical education, but rarely is any aspect of the education of adults mentioned. And for local education authorities adult education remains of peripheral interest, regarded almost as work of supererogation.

This is perfectly understandable. Adults, after all, are expected to be able to look after all, are expected to be able to look after themselves, whereas children have traditionally been treated as wards of society. A cynic might add that there are neither profits nor votes in adult education. If a government's duty is to respond to popular pressure the neglect of adult education is not only understandable but also correct, for the popular pressure for adult education has been small. But since no government in this country could conceivably take so neutral a view of its functions, and since adult education becomes increasingly important to the well-being of society, the neglect does not accord with the character in which twentieth-century society clothes its governments.

Adult education will not get the necessary attention unless the responsibility of government is recognized and accepted. J.S. Mill warned against government monopoly in education: "Nor is it to be endured that a government should, either de jure or de fact, have a complete control over the education of the people. To possess such a control, and actually exert it, is to be despotic". There seems little danger of despotism in adult

education, exercised either from West Minister or Curzon Street, town hall or country hall, yet it would be imprudent to disregard Mill's warning. But there are more positive reasons than this why the responsibility should not be thought of as resting solely on government.

The voluntary nature of adult education must, and should, be reflected in the institutions and organizations which emerge as its agents. "Voluntary" and "state" have traditionally been set over against each other as though they represented, if not hostile, at least incompatible entities. Of course they are not. A paramount general responsibility resting on government does not detract from which may not primarily be concerned with education. It is certainly arguable that great voluntary associations, such as the churches and trade unions, in their concern for the well-being of their members, ought to pay attention to the educational opportunities open to them—opportunities which might be quite unlike current officially recognized forms of adult education. Ours is a pluralist society, and there is more than one way to salvation.

The concept of lifelong learning, then, if it were taken seriously and given practical application, would lead to a great expansion of adult education. But there is more to the idea than that. Life and learning do not begin at the age of 5, and the last few years have seen a growing recognition, culminating in the Plowden Report, of the importance of pre-school education in the home and in the neighbourhood. Infants' schools are not presented with a series of *tabulae rasae* on which to inscribe their precepts, nor does the educational influence of home and neighbourhood cease when school education begins. No one describes schools as ivory towers, but the tendency to think of them as places of isolation, separated from the rest of the community, has not disappeared, although efforts are being made to break it down and, in particular, to encourage parents to think that their relationship to school is something more than

the provision of children to fill the buildings and occupy the teachers.

If lifelong learning is to become a reality for the great majority of people it means that schools, for their part, must see themselves as part of an educational continuum, recognizing that whether the individual pupil continues his education into and throughout adult life will largely depend on attitudes formed at school. At present schools do little deliberately to inculcate the idea of lifelong learning, although the example of the good teacher, whom his pupils can see influence that is none the less powerful for being unconscious, and methods of school work based on participation and discovery, which are being used increasingly give children and adolescents an appetite to continue learning when formal education has come to an end. Nevertheless, there are still too many pupils for whom school have done with education, for good and for all, just as quickly as possible. Education, they decide, is not for them, and they opt out for life, joining that large section of the population who constitute half our present. For most people school creates an appetite for, or an aversion from, education which persists throughout life. Even for those in whom school sharpens the appetite, narrow specialization too often stunts interests and shuts out the pupil, perhaps permanently, from large sections of human experience and activity. That specialization is necessary to the expansion of knowledge, and therefore has its place in a university, is true, but early specialization works like predestination, never a comforting and not nowadays a widely accepted doctrine. Specialization not only cramps the work of the schools, but also it has set the pattern for adult education, so that the idea of a general education befitting on adult is scarcely considered, at least in this country.

Lifelong learning involves something more than that the school, those scapegoats useful for so many occasions, should

improve themselves. It involves a deliberate attempt by each educational institution to see how its work relates to that of the rest. We need a comprehensive attitude not merely in one particular area, the organization of secondary education, but throughout the whole range of institutions which exist in order that people may have opportunities to learn. The influenced by the colleges of education and university education departments-but it is important also that technical colleges, universities, and professional associations should not give the impression that theirs is the terminal phase of education. Equally important, those who are engaged in adult education, whether as teachers or administrators, need to be aware of the current work of schools and further education colleges if their own work is not to become an interrelevance. We all went to school at some stage of our lives, so we all know what school is like-or rather, was like; most adults know little of the changes that have taken place since they themselves escaped.

Lifelong learning involves, too, that the educational opportunities of such institutions as libraries and museums-those open academies which demand no entry qualifications-should be exploited to the full. It is a challenge to such great voluntary associations as the churches and the trade unions to consider what more they might do to help their members to make sense of their experiences. Above all, the media of mass communication need to be used effectively for education, as well as for entertainment, if lifelong learning is to become a reality for something like the entirety of the people. The use of television and radio to this end means something more than the allocation of special times, special channels, or special wavelengths for educational programmes.

Non-formal Education

When the project was designed, it was fully realised that the field programme staff would have a pioneering role to play in this experimental study. Their academic qualifications, experience in life, maturity of mind, familiarity with the local language, their tact and ability to deal with any situation that might suddenly come up, would go a long way towards contributing to the success or failure of the experiment. These considerations were kept in mind while recruiting them.

Recruitment procedures

In order to recruit the action programme staff, information about these vacancies, nature of their work, salary and other conditions of service were sent to Nurses' Training Schools, Teachers' Training Schools, Employment Exchange and the concerned offices at the district level. The aim was to recruit candidates from the Telengana area as the language spoken there was different from the coastal area Telugu.

Of the personnel recruited on the basis of qualifications, twelve field workers had no previous experience in teaching while eight has some experience. With exception of two of the Literacy Teachers, all the others were in the age-group of 20-25-perhaps too young to be effective Non-formal Educators or rural women, most of whom were older and more experienced in life. Further, only ten workers were married.

Training schedules

For organising the training programme it was decided that

about two thirds of the total training time of six weeks should be used for pre-service training and the remainder for in-service training courses of short duration. A draft syllabus was drawn up for a pre-service training of about four weeks duration and was divided into four main sections: (1) background and orientation to the project; (2) subject matter content; (3) implementation of programme in the field including practical work in teaching methods, use of audio-visual aids, medical check-up; and (4) role of field staff in assisting research and evaluation

The training course for staff in Phase I was conducted from 4 to 21 June 1973 at Hyderabad and from 22 to 29 June 1973 at Mahbubnagar and in the villages selected for Phase I. The training course of staff in Phase II was conducted from 17 September to 4 October 1973 at Mahbubnagar as the action programme in Phase II was to begin in the first week of October 1973. The medium of begin.

As the participants came in, most of them with one or two young children with them, they were seated in a U-shaped manner. The Health Educator sat at the open end, with the black-board, charts, etc., needed for the evening on the wall, behind her. The village women were not very time-conscious, and so the Health Educator usually allowed a few minutes, after the scheduled starting time, for the latecomers to join. Then she took the roll-call and the attendance was recorded in a specially designed register.

Starting with the photograph

To start a discussion on a problem/topic in the curriculum, the appropriate photograph or other illustration depicting the problem or directly connected with the problem was first shown to the group. Then the Health Educator posed some questions to lead the participants into a discussion of the problem. By using questions suggested in the Discussion Guide, the discussion was conducted by her and through this

method, the message or messages were transmitted to the participants. The appropriate visual materials indicated in the Weekly Lesson Guide were also used and the group was asked to consider solutions to the problem and the action to be taken by them. In the case of some problems or topics, where live demonstrations were necessary, the Health Educator, usually with the guidance and help of the Maternity Assistant, arranged for such demonstrations. Towards the end of the class-time, the Health Educator gave a summary of the day's lesson, stressing the main messages of the lesson and action to be taken.

'Known to the Unknown': Thus, the method used was based on the educational principle of 'known to unknown' through guided group discussion. At the conclusion of the day's lesson, roll-call was again taken and recorded to mark those who had come in after the first roll call. The basic maternity services and distribution of medicines and supplementary food was done after the class was over and such services were given only to those who attended the class.

When the group met the next day, the Health Educator would begin the class with a recapitulation of the previous day's lesson and the messages it conveyed and would clear the doubts, if any. Then she went on to introduce the day's lesson as described above. Each class was visited by the Project Officer at least twice a week for supervision, guidance on group discussion and any further explanation of subject-matter.

Need for even progress among centres

In the first five months of Phase 1, the Health Educators were allowed some flexibility with regard to the time necessary for covering a problem/topic, but it was found that the rate of progress was uneven and varied considerably from center to center. Therefore, in December 1973, the centres lagging behind were given about two weeks to catch up with the others; the latter were asked to review the previous lessons and not to proceed with new lessons. This was done in order to

bring all classes to the same stage in the curriculum, so that Weekly Lesson Guides could be introduced from then on.

From the middle of December 1973, Weekly Lesson Guides prepared by the Project Officer were distributed to each centre and the Health Educators were asked to try to cover each day's lesson as indicated in Weekly Lesson Guide. This procedure has been of great help to the Health Educators in covering the problems/topics in the syllabus. The last two weeks were utilised by them for review of the entire of non-formal education in MCCs.

Learning through discussion

The women participants had never been to a school or participated in any educational activity earlier. So, they needed a little time to adjust themselves to this programme based on discussion as a method of learning. The Health Educators conducted also some practice lessons in the beginning of Phase II, from 29 April to 18 May, 1974. By that time, conditions had stabilised and the regular classes as per course content were started. The unitised lessons covering the subject areas, the relating to Maternal Health Care commenced on 20 May 1974.

A set of twenty-two lessons covering the subject were given in the centres during the period from 20 May to 8 July, 1974. In view of the special importance of this subject area to rural mothers, twelve revision lessons on this chapter were programmed during the period 12 to 30 July, 1974. The impact of these lessons on the participants in six MCC and six MCC+FLIT Centres was assessed by the Project Officer during September 1974. Of the 70 participants who were examined, 35 secured 35 per cent or more.

The course content

A set of thirteen lessons relating to the subject area of Child Development and Rearing Practices was covered from 1 to 16 November, 1974. This was followed by a set of twenty lessons

relating to the subject area of Health Care of Infants and Toddlers. They were programmed during the period from 20 November to 12 December, 1974. A set of four lessons covering the subject area of responsibility parenthood was programmed during 13 and 18 December, 1974.

These were followed by the lessons relating to the last subject area in the course content, viz., General Knowledge. It covered information on available services, agriculture, crops of the district, growing of vegetables, poultry, responsibilities of a citizen, and democracy. These lessons, twenty-eight in number, were covered between 20 December 1974 and 7 February 1975.

Having completed the course content at a reasonable pace, it was felt that a set of nine revision lessons covering the total course content and an internal assessment were desirable. Though, they were programmed between 8 and 19 February, 1975, only four of the revision lessons could be covered, as the classes and activities in all the centres were stopped on 15 February 1975. However, the internal assessment was completed by the Project Officer in all the six MCC and six MCC+FLIT centres between 12 and 28 February, 1975. The results obtained and the analysis of the answers given by the 141 participants were useful in the revision of materials. Ninety one members out of the 141 participants examined secured 12 points or more out of a maximum of 30 points.

The problem of chronic absenteeism

Some of the problems faced in implementing the programme of Nonformal Education in Phase II are presented here. The major ailment suffered by the programme was chronic absenteeism on the part of the participants.

Effective environment: The number of participants enrolled and the number of absentees resulting in a considerably reduced effective enrolment is given in the table.

The magnitude of chronic absenteeism in MCC and MCC

+FLIT centres was quite high and required some consideration. It was indeed strange that the attendance could be so low even when incentives in the form of medical care and supplementary feeding were provided. The problem required scrutiny and solution. Therefore, an examination of the educational status of the husbands of the participants was attempted and the information is presented in the table.

Effect of home environment: It will be observed from table II that the husbands of only 94 participants out of the 317, i.e., 29.6 per cent enrolled in the twelve centres were literate. Twenty-two out of the 94 such participants, i.e., 23.4 per cent of those with a literacy environment at home were among the chronic absentees. Similarly 223 participants out of the 317 participants, i.e., 70.4 per cent enrolled in all the twelve centres had an illiteracy environment at home. Seventy eight out of those 223, i.e., 35.0 per cent were among the chronic absentees. These data indicate that the literacy or illiteracy environment at home plays a considerable role in chronic absenteeism of an illiterate woman enrolled for an educational programme. The chance for absenteeism may be considered to be enhanced nearly by one and half times by an illiterate environment at home.

Reasons for absenteeism: Average monthly attendance for 10 months is given in table Ii. In an educational programme, attendance and regularity of the participants is an index of the response to the programme and the success achieved by it. The following factors markedly influenced the attendance of the participants in the Non-formal Education class.

- The imperative need for earning 'daily wages' for making a living is a common problem faced by the rural women. They have to seek work wherever it is available, and they can never be sure of finding work in their own village all through the year. So they have to migrate to nearby or far-off places in search of work. This migration inevitably

reduces their effective participation in an experiment. Paying a visit to the mother's place is a common tendency among village women. In the case of young mothers, it is more frequent. Festivals and Jataras are also responsible for the movement of the rural folk from place. Short visits originally planned often turn out to be long ones of considerable duration.

- The selected sample consists of two currently pregnant women as participants in each of the villages. Some confinement could naturally be expected as a common feature in every centre. Absence on account of the arrival of the new child varies from 3 to 8 weeks.
- Besides these factors, rain, darkness, courtesy visits of relatives, occurrences like death, birth, marriage, local entertainment, accidents in the village, quarrels among the participants, scare created by quarrelsome husbands who would not tolerate any delay in the return of their wives from the Centre, were some of the other reasons influencing the day's attendance.

A total of 158 participants in each of the MCC and MCC+FLIT centres were enrolled in Phase II programme. The factors enumerated above affected the sample and among the participants there were chronic absentees. The attendance of the number of participants month by month from May 1974 onwards till February 1975 reveals that 69 out of 106 participants or 65 per cent were present on an average during any month in the MCC centres while 83 out of 111 participants or 74.8 per cent took advantage of the programme in the MCC + Flit centres.

Departmental and staff difficulties

It was also noticed that during the first five months of the programme, i.e., May 1974 to September 1974 the participation steadily increased in both the MCC and MCC+FLIT centres. The attendance during those months touched the maximum of 80.2

per cent in the case of the MCC centres and 88.3 per cent in the case of the MCC + FLIT centres. This period also synchronised with the period when work for the agriculture-labour participation would generally be available in the villages. This period was followed by a period of decline in attendance touching the minimal in class attendance during the phase, viz., 55.7 per cent in the case of MCC villages and 58.6 per cent in the case of MCC + FLIT centres. The villages and 58.6 per cent in the case of MCC + FLIT centres.

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Complementarity Between Formal and Non-formal Education

Complementarity which means to bring about mutual support between the two channel of formal and non-formal education in respect of personnel, facilities and administrative structures, is essential for the effective implementation of the programme of universalization of elementary education. Complementarity also shares the curriculum, instructional materials, methods of teaching, evaluation/certification procedures and techniques etc, it may be planned or vicarious and may also occur as a result of efforts to coordinate educational programme at the local, block, sub-district, district, state or national levels. It has further assumed significance in view of the NEP which stresses the compatibility of educational standards in formal and non-formal education.

The concept of complementarity between formal and non-formal education is reflected in the national Policy of education. Article 45 of Indian Constitution enjoins upon the provision of free, compulsory and universal education upto the age of 14 years. Both the systems are attempting to fulfil the constitutional obligation of universal elementary education. The New Education Policy has also recommended to coordinate the network of non-formal education fully for realising the target of universal education by 1990 upto the age of 11 years and by 1995 upto the age of 14 years. The responsibility for implementing the above obligation rests with the Ministry of Human Resources development. It, however, also seeks support

from other Ministries. Complementarity lies with the objectives of formal and non-formal education. Both the system of formal and non-formal education aim at improving the quality of life and raising the living standards. The major objectives of the system is to develop the personality of the child through inculcating values, attitudes and other necessary skills of life so that the children can become productive members of the society. They can become good citizens and can serve the society and nation in a better way.

Conceptually, there is complementarity between both the system in terms of achieving the objectives of human resources development. Non-formal education has been introduced to cater the needs of out-of-school children who are either drop-out from formal schools at various stages or have never been to school who could not avail of the facilities provided by the formal system due to socio-economic compulsions. It also intends to meet the essential learning needs of children living in remote and sparsely populated areas where the establishment of the formal school is considered to be non-viable. The character of flexibility brings complementarity in both the systems. Non-formal education has character of flexibility in respect of timings, vacations, curriculum and multiple point entry, etc. and adjustment according to local specific needs of the area and locality. The formal set up is also following the character of flexibility and encouraging multiple point entry. School hours, school vacations and curriculum are adjusted according to needs of the community. However, the practices vary from state to state. The Delhi School Education Act 1973, specifically permits multiple point entry of students. It has been observed that such a provision is generally used for the purpose of allowing transfer of students from one formal school to another at different stages of education. The state of Uttar Pradesh has positive attitude towards formal and non-formal education. The students from non-formal education centres are allowed to appear at class V examination with the students of

formal schools and are allowed to join class VI in formal schools after qualifying the examination.

Human resources are also shared in both the systems of formal and non-formal education. Clientele in the non-formal education are either drop-outs or non-attending children. The students who are drop-outs are from formal schooling. In most of the states teachers are also from the formal schools who teach in non-formal education centres. They are getting additional payment for working in these centres. Regarding the training of the teachers, services of the same teacher educators, lecturers, principals and resources persons are utilized in training the teachers from the State Institute of Education, Universities, Training Colleges and Resources Centres in both the systems. Regarding supervision and inspection, mostly same supervisory staff of the formal set up is deployed for these NFE centres. District Education Officers (DEO) and District Inspectors of school (DIS) supervise and inspect these NFE centres also from time to time. At the Directorate level, in some states services of the same Director of Public Instruction (DPI) has been utilized for looking after the work of both the formal and non-formal education.

Curriculum also plays vital role in establishing the complementarity between formal and non-formal education because the standard in any of the system can't be lower than that of the other. It is emphasised in New Education Policy that all necessary measures will be taken to ensure that the quality of non-formal education is comparable with formal education. No doubt, the curriculum is based on the demand and need of the people as it is local specific and problem based. Relevance, practicability and flexibility are the main criterion for the NFE curriculum. Health, vocation, environment, social awareness literacy and numeracy are the dimensions of the NFE curriculum. These criterion is must for NFE but it may be followed in the formal set up also. The aim of both the curricula is to enable the child to acquire certain competencies,

skills and knowledge at the primary and middle stages. Besides this the content of education in formal and non-formal sectors has been generally centered around certain learning outcomes expected to be attained by the learners at the end of primary/elementary stage. The attainment of learners are evaluated on the basis of the learning outcomes specified in the Minimum Learning Continuum (MLC) developed by the NCERT. It has also attempted that the content should be derived from the real situations in both formal and non-formal education. In addition to this, a common machinery is being prepared the instructional materials and curriculum for formal and non-formal education. The NCERT is preparing the curriculum and instructional material at the national level and SIE, SISE, SCERT, SIERT and SRC are preparing the curriculum at the state level. In most of the state M.P. Model condensed version of formal curriculum is being utilised in the non-formal education.

The methodology used in the NFE is different from formal education and different pedagogical strategies have been utilised to cater the needs of the children in both the systems. The teachers in NFE centres are generally deployed from the formal set up and they teach in both the system according to the needs and situation of the students. In both the system the teacher rearrange the content according to the needs of students and is also free to use available resources in teaching. Teacher helps the children in preparing teaching aids like charts, album, drawing cards, free hand sketching, wood toys and clay toys etc. in both the systems according to their situations. Media is common strategy in both the system. Dialogue, role playing, simulation, group discussion and problem solving are the teaching methods commonly used in both formal and non-formal education. The theoretical and practical knowledge of vocational skills is also provided effectively in non-formal centres through socially useful productive work (SUPW) because the children in the centres are coming from such homes, where they are already busy with such activities like

agriculture, fisheries bamboo and woodwork etc. Except this, like formal school curriculum and co-curricular activities are also organised in NFE centres. National festivals, like Independence day and Republic Day etc. are celebrated with the help of the community participation and involvement.

Mass-media is one of the important means to integrate formal and non-formal education. The educational programmes of both the systems are fruitfully broadcasted by INSAT 1-B which is already in operation in the country. Twenty either stations of the All India Radio (AIR) have already been linked with the INSAT based radio net work. Special equipment has been installed at these stations to receive programmes directly from the satellite. The programmes of education both in schools and NFE centres will be imparted through Radio as well as TV network meaningfully. Another UNICEF aided project on mass-media is being implemented by the NCERT in collaborations with the state governments. The educational media-Radio, Television and low cost teaching aids is helping in reaching the children hitherto unreached and also improving the quality of education impaired through both the systems of education.

The UNICEF-assisted projects in education sectors are being implemented to provide relevant curriculum and methodology for both the systems to promote the universalisation of elementary education by NCERT in collaboration with state education departments. The projects include Early Childhood Education (ECE), primary Education Curriculum Renewal (PECR), Comprehensive Access to primary Education (CAPE), Nutrition, Health, Education and Environmental Sanitation (NHEES), Development Activities in Community Education and Participation (DACEP), etc. Through these projects new contents and methods using environment oriented and problem solving approaches are being developed for both formal and non-formal education.

Another area of complementarity refers to the linkages between formal and non-formal education. Basic skill training consists of literacy, numeracy and technology in other words communication, life and productive skill is being imparted to both the system of formal and non-formal education. According to the recommendations of national Council for Teacher Education (NCTE), most of the states have modified the primary teacher education curriculum to prepare would-be-teachers for both the system through the same process. Under the UNICEF-assisted project Comprehensive Access to Primary Education (CAPE) of NCERT, the learning material for the out of schools children is being prepared following the approach training-cum-production and this approach has been introduced in the curriculum of teacher training institutes in different states. The teacher trainee has to prepare relevance-based learning materials, i.e. capsule and module. In some of the states non-formal education centres are attached to the primary teacher training institute for orienting the trainees about the functioning of non-formal education. In addition to this, non-formal education has been envisioned in pre-service training. Teachers from formal set up are being provided training about the functioning of non-formal education through in-service training and short-term course organised by the State Institute of Education, (SIE), State Institute of Science Education (SISE), State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT), State Institute of Educational Research and Training (SIERT) and State Resources Centres (SRC) etc.. The erstwhile Centre of Education Technology (CET) now called Central Institute of Educational Technology (CIET), a constituent of NCERT, under the project 'Satellite Instructional Television Experiment (SITE) provided training to 4,8000 primary school teachers in one year in both content of science and approach of science teaching. Such programmes support both the systems.

Complementarity lies in administration and organisation of both the systems of education from top to bottom level. The

Bureau of School Education of Ministry of Human Resources Development (MHRD) is administering both the type of education at the national level. NCERT as an academic wing of MHRD coordinate academic activities of both the systems and prepare curriculum and methodology according to needs and problems. The administrative set up for formal and non-formal education, however, differs from state to state. Three types of administrative models are functioning at the state level. In some states formal and non-formal education are administered by the Directorate of Adult Education and still in some others formal, non-formal and adult education come within preview of one single Directorate of Education. At the district level in the States, District Education Officers and District inspector of Schools are practically looking after the work of supervision and inspection of non-formal education. In these states, where non-formal education has been tagged with adult education, the administration, supervision and inspection are looked after by the District Adult Education Officers. Block Education Officers and Extension Education Officers are responsible for looking after the job of supervision and inspection of both the system at block level. Village Education Committee and parent Teacher Association are responsible for the management, supervision and inspection of both the system at village level. School complex is also an important means to strengthen integrated functioning of schools and non-formal education centres. In each complex there is a central school which is generally a high/higher secondary school in which about ten to twelve primary schools and about five to seven middle schools within the radius of five to seven kilometers participated within a month or fortnightly. All sorts of difficulties regarding administration, management, curriculum, methodology and other problems of implementation of various programmes in both formal and non-formal education are discussed in the complex meetings and all possible help is provided by the central school to solve their problems. Such complex strengthen Complementarity between both the system.

Facilities and resources are also shared in both the setups. NCERT, Universities, Teacher Training Institutions, SIE, SCERT and SRC etc. are used by both the systems for academic guidance and consultations services, seminars, short-term courses, conferences, and training courses are organised in the above institutions for both formal and non-formal education. Most of the NFE centres are also running in the school buildings in the evenings though at some places these are running in temples, churches, mosques, community centres and dharamshala etc. Besides this surveys are conducted in respect of boys and girls for organising the NFE centres and reports are maintained. Attendance registers are maintained for checking the regularity of the students. Stock registers, teacher diaries are also kept for judging the progress of the children.

Non-formal education is also financed by the Ministry of Human Resources Development like formal education. The MHRD provides grants to nine educationally backward states on the basis of 50:50, 90:10 in case of exclusively for girls and hundred per cent in case of voluntary organisation for running these NFE centres. Teacher's salaries, student remuneration, and contingent grants are paid out of these grants. Though the teachers are paid much less as compared to the formal school teachers but this is effective way of utilising the limited resources of the nation for meeting the ever increasing demands of the people. Lastly evaluation of both the systems enforces complementarity. Children though in NFE system are not only evaluated in terms of performance in examination like formal system but in terms of personality development like social, emotional and mental, etc... The children are compared and evaluated with themselves viz, with their previous achievement at different levels. The record of previous reports are kept for judging the rate of development. Besides this children are given facilities to appear in the main examination or at supplementary examination or both according to his own-conveniences after completing all the prescribed courses/units/syllabus at the V

and VIII standard examination conducted by the District and the Divisional Boards respectively.

The preceding discussion reveals the complementarity between the formal and non-formal education. The complementarity was presented in terms of objectives, curriculum, methodology, administration, finance and evaluation and for promoting and achieving the goal universalisation of elementary education, at desired level. It is hoped that the complementarity linkages and coordinated planning and implementation envisaged in the New Education Policy will make it more effective.

Promotion of Non-formal Education

What is technology? For many people technology means computers and satellites, lasers and heart-lung machines. In the context of a discussion of NFE, technology is defined as those devices and equipment designed to assist learning. In other words, technology is just a form of teaching aid. Goals are set for learning: methods are selected to assist in achieving those goals or as aids in reaching the goals. Technology offers a range of methods to assist in the achievement of learning goals. In other contexts at other times, the term technology may not have been used and a term such as 'audio-visual' aids used instead. The present definition of technology may appear to be far removed from the bytes of computers or the dazzling complexities of satellites but the definition provides a means of incorporating all forms of technology within a single discussion. If the discussion was related to agriculture, then the definition would have indicated that technology was a means of assisting agricultural production.

What the definition also highlights is that technology is not just what is called 'high tech' or 'high technology,' the powerful computers and intricate lasers. There is another, and sometimes overlooked, area sometimes disparagingly referred to as 'low tech'. In educational terms the distinction is between computer-assisted learning and the chalkboard. If the discussion was concerned with agriculture, then the automatic header would be high tech and the low tech.

Let it be clearly stated at the outset of this chapter that the authors are convinced that the problems of NFE are NOT going to be solved by technology, and certainly not by 'high tech'. Technology, both of the high and low types has a very important role to play in assisting NFE, for technology is a method for learning, to achieve its goals but alone it has not the power to achieve these goals, as sometimes enthusiasts believe. What is required is some sort of balance. In the Consultants' Report, two programs were dealt with in detail - one using television, the other using face-to-face teaching. Such recommendations and planning represent the sort of balance being advocated. The chapter is not anti-technology or anti-high technology: What is needed is calculated judgment.

Attitudes towards technology

The American adult education academic Jerold Apps in a Foreword to a volume on microcomputers and adult learning noted three positions taken by adult educators to the whole range of new technology. The first was that the educator has become aware of the new technology but had not quite decided what to make of it. The second was that after examination of the technology the educator had decided it had no application to adult education, while the third referred to the educator who had become excited about the technology and wanted to incorporate its use into every aspect of adult education. The second position is dangerous for NFE: the third is potentially dangerous: the first is also a problem for the educator may take too long to make up his or her mind. What is necessary is some overall understanding of technology as it relates to NFE and a means of helping those concerned make a decision. One final question needs to be addressed before the remainder of the chapter deals with satisfying the two requirements noted in the previous sentence.

Why use technology?

The educator and the learner want to be successful in their

educational activities. Methods that will assist in the process, then, are likely to be used, if known. Technology, as noted above, provides some of these methods. The particular contribution of technology is that it assists learning by appealing to the human senses, sight, hearing and touch. As learning centrally involves a physiological process, it is argued that making an appeal to one or more of the senses increases the potential for learning or the speed of learning, or even the enjoyment or excitement of learning. The appeal to the senses was a foundation for the use of the term 'audio-visual'.

Classifying technology

Various means have been suggested for classifying the various types of technology used as aids in the educational process, from the discussion by Pula to that of Romiszowski to those of Heidt and Johnson. A composite scheme, drawn from these and other writers, is set out below to describe as complete as possible the range of technologies appropriate for use as learning aids in education. The scheme consists of five categories, essentially exclusive but allowing for the use of several aids from different categories, if the educational purpose is thus served. Because the concern is learning, categories are developed according to the senses upon which the various technologies rely. So the categorisation is based on the senses of seeing, hearing and touch. The other major term used in the categorisation is projected. Projection consists of using light in some form to create an image or picture, still or moving. The five categories are listed and some examples of the technologies associated with each category are noted and discussed.

1. *Visual/non-project*: This category contains a large number of items. The aids rely on their visual impact without the aid of projection. A very important item in this category is the printed word: books, newspapers, journals, periodicals and newsletters, the favourite means for networks and NGOs. As Stewart has stressed, newspapers are a

'forgotten medium for adult education'. Further, newspapers, either the large distribution dailies or cheaply made local news sheets, are a valuable and relevant reading resource for neo-literates. The category also includes a wide range of boards on which to write or draw illustrations such as the chalk or white board. There are newer types of this style of aid on which you can write in a marking pen and then have a single photocopy of the material written on the board. Then there are flipcharts, white paper held together and written upon and then either discarded or flipped over so that another sheet can be used. This first category includes photographs, photocopies and prints, charts, graphs or posters. Combinations of media can be used so that pictures can be placed on a felt board to help narrate a story or illustrate a problem. There is some scope with some of these items to involve the sense of touch. Participants can place the felt pictures on the board or they can be encouraged to handle the materials or re-locate parts of the village model in different places. However, the emphasis is on the visual sense frequently as an aid to the spoken voice.

2. *Visual projected:* These items require some form of projection and therefore power in the form of electricity or batteries. Items in this category include a range of what are commonly called 'transparencies'. These may be in the form of a long film called a strip film because it can be wound through the projector backwards and forwards to allow the learners to see the material on each frame of film. There are also slides, i.e. individual film transparencies. There are normally projected one at a time but there are projectors that allow them to be shown rapidly one after the other because the individual slides are housed in a cartridge or carousel. The device called the overhead projector allows the instructor to present material prepared on thin sheets of transparent material to a group. The nature of the overhead projector is such that complex

overheads can be prepared using overlays to illustrate complex ideas and systems. A great deal of information can be miniaturised and stored in micro-film. A special micro-film reader enlarges the small print so that is easily read by the naked eye. Usually only one to three people can read such material at one time unless another form of projection is also used.

3. *Audio:* This category appeals essentially to the sense of hearing. Items in this category include radio, vinyl records, tapes, the compact disc, language laboratories and the telephone. Radio can be thought of as a mass medium broadcasting to large numbers over vast distances. However, the development of small and efficient transmitters has resulted in radio becoming a much more localised medium so that local and regional communities can have access to the medium not only as listeners but as broadcasters and presenters. The nature of recordings has changed from the large and easily broken recordings of the 1940s to the compact disc of the 1980s. The large tape recorder of the 1950s has largely been replaced by small cassette players. The storage of cassettes is also easier than reel tapes or even large vinyl recordings. The language laboratory consists of a number of tape recorder-type outlets set up in individual booths with headphones, and a central control panel as is demonstrated from the diagram.

The individual learner in the booth is able to follow the taped instruction, and sometimes provide oral feed-back, while the person at the central control can monitor the individual booths. The name language laboratory has been used because the item has been extensively used in the teaching of foreign languages. The telephone is not only a medium for one to one communication. By using a telephone with an attached speaker-microphone one person can talk in a two-way discussion with a group. An extension of this is to have a group of people in scattered locations linked together through the telephone system

so that they can communicate with each other. Such a process is called a teleconference. Not all telephone systems, particularly in developing nations, have the technical sophistication to carry the teleconference operation. The teleconference has been extensively developed in Australia and a useful reference on the use and operations of the technique is by Lundin.

4. *Visual projected with audio:* In this category, the audience can see as well as hear. In this category are included the various sorts of movie film, television transmission, and video-recordings. Television in its transmitted form was well established in Western nations before the advent of video-recorder. In some developing countries the video-recorder has arrived in many locations before broadcast television. Efficient and comparatively cheap television transmitters may provide the opportunity, as with radio, of more locally produced and operated broadcast television. An interesting combination of two items mentioned above illustrates this category. The tape-slide presentation combines the audio of the tape with the visual of the projected slide. Special techniques have been developed to make the automatic movement of the slides synchronise with the sounds of the tape recording. Items in this category are at the 'high tech' end of the spectrum of aids for teaching/learning. Some of the refinements of the above items include closed-circuit television (CCTV) by which an educational program can be produced in one part of a building and shown in another part. It is television with limited transmission. Also, the item teleconferencing, noted in 3 above, can be conducted using visuals and voice and is called video-teleconferencing. Such a process is also called 'interactive' because those involved in the various locations can interact with one another. The transmission of such video-teleconferencing has been facilitated, as has normal television and voice transmission, but the use of satellites.

However, such techniques can also be carried out through terrestrial communication technology.

5. *Manual:* At a simple level, this category includes such devices as sewing machines and typewriters. And the recent items in this category are based on the 'key board'. As a result of developments in what is called the behaviorist approach to learning, B.F. Skinner was instrumental in having teaching machines developed in the United States. These were machines before which learners performed specified tasks in the prescribed way and received an indication from the machine that they had successfully completed the task or were given additional work to do so that they could succeed. The micro-chip has resulted in the teaching machines becoming museum pieces. The computer has been used to develop a whole range of teaching programs. As the learner sits at the keyboard and manually operates the computer in performing tasks, the computer indicates the level of success, whether the learner can proceed to further instruction or whether remedial exercises have been diagnosed. Two frequently used terms in computer learner are computer assisted learning (CAL) and computer manager learning (CML).

So as to provide a balance and to avoid getting lost in high tech, it is important to note that there have been other 'touch' technological aids, for example blocks and marbles, and of course Cuisenaire rods. One of the oldest of these aids is the abacus, and there is its modern counterpart needing batteries the calculator.

They have been significant developments linking the computer with satellites to educational institutions, other learners or resource centres. There are endless possibilities of linking various form of technological aids and methods. At the level of high tech Johnston has called some of the newest methods of bringing separate items of technology together to

form new methods as 'hybrid' media. However, hybrid media can be developed throughout the range of technology. In Chapter on Target Groups mention was made of persons with disabilities. For older adults who have lost their sight 'talking books' and talking newspapers' have been developed by putting the written texts of newspapers and books on cassette tape for the blind people to 'read'. Whereas the five categories provide a basis for gathering together the wide range of technological learning aids, the categories are not exclusive and combinations of methods from different categories may provide the required method for a specific purpose with a group of learners.

The previous section has made a quick traverse of some of the wide range of techniques to which the term 'technology' can be applied. The purpose of the section was to give broad overview, and understanding, of the scope of technology applied to learning. The next section seeks to help NFE educators ask the appropriate questions so that the correct choices are made in the section of what technology to use for NFE programming.

Choosing the appropriate technology

The term 'appropriate technology' has come into common use, particularly to emphasis the full range of technology available and avoid the magnetic attraction of technology at the high tech end of the spectrum.

There are many ways proposed to assist administrators, programmers, and tutors decide which the range of media to use for a program or a particular teaching session. The simple answer is what will achieve the best result, or what it is alleged will provide the best result. However, it is suggested here that a number of questions should be seriously addressed by whoever is responsible, administrator, programmer or tutor.

But, as suggested, there have been other ways advised to help the educator decide. Some suggest the 'best use' for particular technologies. However, this is a very simplistic

approach. There are too many factors to consider in teaching/learning situation to be satisfied with a best use criterion. Another method is to provide a checklist on which various key factors can be 'ticked' to give an overall rating of the effectiveness of a particular piece of technology. Such checklists can include questions for tickling such as "Is the equipment available? Has the equipment been checked? Is the learning group experienced with this piece of technology? The problem with checklists is that if they are to be effective, they have to contain a long list of questions, some of which may be totally inappropriate for a particular technology or learning situation. Also, it is very easy to tick a particular item, rather than carefully consider a tick is the correct response. Sanchez has written about his list of 'do's and don'ts' when he is personally involved in preparing his own technology - usually of the non-projected visual category. While his personal list, because it is developed from his own experience, is not likely to be of great value to others, the idea of such a personal list has some value.

Two more sophisticated methods are suggested by Heidt. One method, also advocated by other writers, provides a list of advantages and disadvantages of a particular methodology.

The advantages/disadvantages method has some usefulness but lacks relevance to specific cultural settings or with special groups of learners. It may be useful for individual educators to develop their own advantages/disadvantages list with various technologies in various settings.

The four questions

1. What is the cost? It is suggested that NFE planners and personnel need to be conscious of the costs of NFE programming. Note was also made of such approaches as cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness. The area of the use of technology to support learning is a very useful area to apply these principles because on the one hand some

technology is very expensive and on the other there is continuing question of the choice between a range of alternatives. What are the comparative costs, for example, of developing a set of videos or a set of photographs or board figures for a felt board to support a nutrition-improvement program? Then other questions, as to how many need to be produced, how will they be distributed and at what cost, what will be the costs of substitute or replacement materials and will there be location costs involved in their use, will require costing. These can be calculated. Then the assumptions have to be made about how many people can be reached with the various methods being investigated and the final, the really difficult question, to be answered on the basis, preferably of evaluations of previous uses of the methods, is how effective the various methods are likely to be. Then the costs are related to effectiveness and a decision made on which method. This can appear a simple approach. There are, however, difficulties. There frequently significant indirect costs. They may include hidden 'subsidies' such as the cost of transport or of studio time or of the un-charged for work time of staff. In areas of technology, there are also what is known as 'infra-structure' costs, for example making certain that the telephone system can carry the required teleconference calls or that there is sufficient power for projector generation.

It was not co-incidental that the Consultants' Report on the 1987 UNICEF NFE Conference included a media-delivered program. The costings are discussed in more detail in Chapter 18. The important point to note here is that the costings were attempted and included. In an otherwise very interesting report of a Seminar on the Role of Television for the National Literacy Campaign Project in Thailand no mention is made of costs, except that in a footnote on pages 39-40 it is reported that ASPBAE provided financial assistance in 1986 and will continue the assistance in 1987. This sort of oversight should

not be continually accepted by NFE administrators and programmers whether the medium being used in television or flip-chart paper.

2. What are the cultural implications? The cultural dimension of NFE, and learning, have been stressed. Therefore, the cultural implications of the use of technology as an aid to learning in NFE need to be carefully considered. It is not adequate to apply the sorts of 'best use', 'advantages/disadvantages' approaches developed in Western nations to other cultural settings. The significance of the 'cultural' dimension in the use of technology of various types will be illustrated from four studies.

Akhila Gosh has shown how women in particular areas of India just do not understand, or misunderstand, many of the films that have been prepared by the government to encourage them to change their behaviour for example in family planning. The women's reactions were associated with the fact that they could not 'trust' the women in the films, or that the women in the film were disgusting because they were publicly talking about matters that were not discussed in that open manner. Technically very useful films were culturally inappropriate, and possible counter-productive' for the educational program they were designed to support. The cultural factor must be recognised.

There are also significant questions about the nature of the culture's views on knowledge. The studies indicate the importance of knowledge, both in relation to science and what? Ogunniyi sought to understand the level of scientific thinking in relation to selected natural phenomena among a group of illiterate adults in Ibadan, Nigeria. As might be expected superstition and non-scientific ideas were used to explain the natural phenomena. Technology based on 'correct' Western concepts of science would be completely misunderstood by these Nigerians. Conversely, technology that was based on their superstitious ideas may have some impact in helping them

understand Western science. In a longer article, Colorado has explored the scientific ideas of the North American Indian. They do have a science and it does have laws and standards; it is just that these are different from those of traditional Western science. She suggests that there should be a 'bridging' of the two types of science. If science is a basis for knowledge and knowledge is central in the development of technology to aid learning, then the developers of the technology, and the users, need to be conscious of likely differences, defined by culture, in the understanding and defining of knowledge, and science.

There is also the question of 'technology transfer', that is taking some piece of technology, developed in one culture, and using it in another. The agricultural system was referred to in the introduction. In this context, the notion of technology transfer may refer to the introduction of tractors developed for Western agriculture into the farming systems of Africa or Asia. Musa has vividly described some of the disastrous effects of dependence caused in developing nations by the importing of technology. In relation to technology and education, de Vries has examined the question of technology transfer with regard to the introduction to computers to teach numeracy to adults in the African city of Soweto. The details of the case study are interesting, but his conclusion is most relevant here. "My conclusion may sound obvious, but it needs to be said: one should not accept without question that the same arrangements apply in Third World environments as in the First World. Great care should be taken to determine whether the new environment has the necessary infrastructure to accommodate the innovation before it is introduced". Mausa highlighted the effects of technology transfer: de Vries has called for close examination of infrastructure. Conboy and D'Cruz have also called for an examination of effects. That examined the impact of distance education methods on rural and isolated groups in developed and developing nations. In discussing not the immediate impact but the longer term, broader impact, they questioned whether the technology used was not having a

detrimental second order consequence on rural identity and local community culture. What then are the impacts of the transfer of technology from one culture to another on the existing infrastructure and significant aspects of the local culture? The NFE educator cannot avoid responsibility in this regard by claiming "I did not know". Such an excuse is no longer acceptable.

So that a completely negative picture is not produced, the final study in this section reports a successful program, and one that was culturally appropriate. Barker, White and Taylor report how computer managed learning was used in an Australian higher education institution as a means of achieving an organisation development goal. This 'new' technique using new technology was used, with new work group and patterns, to move the institution to a new phase in its development. In that setting, although there naturally some teething problems with the program, the program was culturally appropriate - one possible reason for its success.

As these case studies have indicated, the cultural dimension of the use of technology in education cannot be overlooked.

3. What is the role of the learner? In the Heidt Media Capabilities Matrix, there is a column for student response. As a general question, frequently overlooked, the educator should ask what the learners will be doing while the technology is being used. Will they be entirely passive watching various sorts of visual projected technology? Is this desirable? The educator can occupy large groups of people with visual projected technology with sound but are they learning? Is there an opportunity for the learners to discuss the issues being presented or to ask questions - it is difficult to ask questions to a person appearing on transmitted television.

The importance of learning in the use of technology has resulted in modifications being sometimes made to the

technology. For example, because movie films are often long and do not provide the opportunity for those watching to talk about the content of the movie, there developed trigger films. There were short films that posed an issue, usually dramatically. Then the film was stopped and the audience discussed the issue in groups, frequently suggesting 'what would happen next'. Then the film was re-commenced and 'a' particular solution or version of what might happen was played out on the screen and after the movie was complete the audience were able to discuss the movie interpretation in relation to the scenarios they had developed.

Having a clear priority for the sorts of activities in which the learners will be involved results usually in a variety of technology being used. Mahai discusses two programs, in health and nutrition in Tanzania. The programs appear to have been successful. One of the reasons would appear to be that in the programs, in which a variety of technology was used including ration and print, there was the consideration given to the activities of the learners, especially in relation to the overall objectives of the program.

There is a danger in the use of technology in learning that the learners may be just entertained or that so much technology is provided that there is no active learning planned for the learners.

4. What are the professional implications? Having the equipment is one area of concern, having people who can work the equipment, and attend to breakdowns, is another question, frequently overlooked. These technology-literate people may not be part of the NFE system, but from wherever they are obtained, they need to be present and at the ready. In the Learning Centres of the Consultants' Report, their 'is a need to have local people 'trained' the level where they can deal with the technology needed, e.g. the monitors for the television programs. As far as the NFE

staff are concerned, there is needed to be technology literate. But what that really means is unclear as the more general question of what general literacy means. They should know how to operate and make running repairs to the equipment. Such knowledge is not gained in a one-off learning experience. Technology changes. If personnel are to be given a full or partial responsibility in relation to technology, it is vital that opportunities be given for them to upgrade their knowledge and skills and the technology, particularly if it is high tech, becomes more sophisticated. If technological specialists are employed, then it should be expected that their knowledge, as with all specialists, will, or should, become so specialised that the other non-specialists in the organisation will not understand what they are understanding. The development of a specialisation in just one aspects of technology, namely computers, in adult education has been evidenced by the appearance of a new journal "International Journal of Computers in Adult Education and Training". The people who use, and maintain, the technology are as important as the technology itself, perhaps more important.

Non-formal Education Materials

Educational materials had to be prepared for those who teach as well as for adults who are exposed to literacy for the first time in their lives. It was indeed not difficult to produce the teaching materials for the instructors. But the 'Learning tools' for the participants had to be designed, tested and evaluated with great care in the form of posters, photographs, models and written lessons. Conventional textbooks and urban-oriented posters and photographs could have no relevance in carrying the message of this programme to the intended participants. The entire success of the programme depended on this single problem of intelligibility and suitability of the visual material on which discussion could be initiated between the teacher and the taught.

A discussion guide in Telugu entitled Mother Child Welfare Education (Mata Sisu Samkshema Vidya) was prepared in the Workshop for use in non-formal education classes by health Educators. It was designed to help them and the women participants during the discussion period of about 45 minutes. Subjects dealt with in this guide included:

- need for a pregnant woman to have a medical check-up;
- nutritional requirements of a pregnant and lactating woman;
- nutrition of the infant and the toddler.

In addition to the Discussion Guide, the Health Educators (Auxiliary Nurse Midwives) who were the teachers of non-formal education in mother child centres were given the following materials:

- (i) Teaching material for non-formal education (in Telugu): This was intended to be a source book of information on the subject matter. It contained 47 lessons classified under eight chapters, covering 18 topics of the course content.
- (ii) Food and health (in Telugu): This was a publication of the National Institute of Nutrition, Hyderabad, and was meant to be used by the Health Educators as reference material.
- (iii) A Manual of Nutrition for Auxiliary Nurse Midwives: This was a handbook for use in the training of ANMS.

Visual aids

Owing to the absence of electricity in most of the villages selected for project operation and the high cost of projectors and other audio-visual equipment, it was decided that only manually operated visual aids would be used in non-formal education and functional literacy classes. Accordingly, prior to the holding of the workshop for preparation of materials, one set of visuals, mainly charts and posters, already available in the country from various sources, were collected and displayed in the Workshop. We had, indeed, a large stock of posters, but none of these had been sent into the field testing. The Consultant started sending the suitable ones into the field along with the lesson units and then she personally supervised the classes to determine the communication value of the posters.

The visuals performed two distinct functions: (1) lending colour to the drab class-rooms as well as arousing the interest of the participants: (2) Helping specifically in introducing a topic for discussion. As the posters were not prepared specially for the project, they performed the first function more effectively than the second. With the help of a Consultant on visual aids for non-formal education, these were reviewed in the light of the course content.

In addition to the posters and charts. The book Birth Atlas, several photographs and selected illustrations designed in

the Workshop were also used in the project. The Consultant, who was specially appointed for testing and evaluation of materials, worked with the project Officers at Mahbubnagar and designed a procedure for testing the photographs.

Testing Photographs: About 20 photographs were tested. The investigators visited the villages and randomly selected 10 women to test the effectiveness of the photographs, using the following procedure. They were to show one photograph at a time to one respondent and then ask the question: 'What do you see in this photograph?' The reply was recorded verbatim.

In respect of some visuals, identification by the respondent will be simple and direct as in the case of the picture of a baby being given a bath. Here, the job is done without further questioning. But with certain other photographs, identification may not be easy. For example, in photograph No.5, a likely answer might be 'picture of a woman holding a girl'. Then the question would be: 'Does the child look normal?' If the answer is 'Yes, the answer is recorded. If the answer is 'No', the next question would be: 'What do you think is the matter with the child?'

The information received in Telugu was then translated into English and the content analysed. If out of ten respondents, 7-9 identified the picture correctly, it was decided that the photograph concerned could be used. On the basis of this 10-12 photographs were selected. Later, during phase II, a photographer was commissioned to take 6 sets of photographs, each set containing 6-10 pieces. Considerable amount of time was spent in planning the kinds of photographs needed for easy assimilation. A number of these were mounted on card board for use in the classes.

Other visuals

As the visuals started going into the field, there was a demand for more. Flip charts obtained from Lucknow were given to the

teachers with very clear instructions on the manner in which to use them. Later classes were personally supervised by the consultant in order to determine the effectiveness of the flip charts. Some skepticism had been expressed regarding the effectiveness of a flip chart on 'the importance of weaning foods'. It was said that in differences the locals and dress patterns would cause an interference in the understanding of the visual. It was further suggested that the flip chart should be adapted to suit the local scene. The suggestion was valid but for lack of artistic talent in Hyderabad, no solution appeared to be in sight. Therefore, it was decided to test them and the flip charts were sent into the field.

The teacher was asked to flip it once over without saying anything. As she did so, the remarks of participants included comments on the colour of the clothes, the manner in which the women were dressed, etc. When the teacher flipped it over the second time, the extraneous details were forgotten and the women started noticing the main point of the flip chart, namely, the difference between a weaned child and a breast-fed child. The third time over, the message of the flip chart was stated by the participants in very clear and definite terms.

This pattern of responses was followed in all the mother child centres. The visuals thus tested in a classroom situation were posters, flip charts, flannel-graphs, sketches, drawings and models. In view of the enthusiastic response of the participants, some more visuals were developed and used so as to provide the participants stimulating and interesting sessions.

Visual support

For visual support of lesson units on "Food Beliefs" (hot, cold food, etc.) small packets containing a small quantity of pulses and cereals or small pieces of fruits and vegetables which the participants considered harmful for pregnant or lactating mothers were put on display. Later, the women built a flannel-graph with the 'food packets' that had been supplied to the

centres. The participant response to this method was encouraging: for at last some, the identification of some of the taboo foods had not been very clear earlier.

The use of the materials prepared for non-formal education in phase I and their revision began almost simultaneously when action programme began in July 1973 and continued up to April 1974. Forty-five lesson units covering the following subject areas in the course content were prepared: Health care of Toddler: Child Development and Rearing Practices: Responsible Parenthood: General Knowledge: and Civics and Citizenship. These units were tried out in the field and were found to be quite effective. The visual aids collected or improvised locally were used along with these lessons. It was felt that the visuals were insufficient in number. The number was increased in phase II.

Discussion session

The field observation made during this period, though meagre and limited, were enough to show that 30 to 40 minutes was optimal time for a discussion session. In the light of these observations, the lessons prepared for use in phase I during February and March 1974 required considerable pruning.

Further the language used in writing the lessons, though simple and in spoke form, did not conform to the local dialect. Consequently, further simplification of the language used in the lesson units became necessary. There was a noticeable reluctance to discuss the subject of Family Planning and this was reflected in the lack of enthusiasm among the women even to hear a story related by the instructor.

Revision of materials in phase II

During phase II, 100 non-formal education lessons were taught, covering the following five subject areas of the course content:

1. Material and health care for a healthy baby:

2. Child development and rearing practices:
3. Health care of infants and toddlers:
4. Responsible parenthood; and
5. General knowledge which includes services available through government departments and citizenship rights.

Out of the 100 lessons, the Project Officer (materials) supervised forty-five of them during his inspection visits to the centres. His personal observations made during the 69 inspection visits enabled him to gather information relating to: (i) the capacity of the participants to receive, assimilate and use the knowledge gained by them through the lessons: (ii) the inherent handicaps which arise on account of the social and economic conditions in which the participants live: and (iii) the capacity shown by the Health Educators/literacy Teachers to understand the information contained in the lessons and the grasp they exhibited during the transmission of messages conveyed by the materials. These three important considerations helped greatly in deciding the scope and magnitude of the quantum of knowledge, the essential practice that should be chosen for transmission through these materials and the methodology that should be adopted for the purpose.

It was realised that the capacity of the participants to understand, assimilate and practice the knowledge gained was very much limited and conditioned by their traditional beliefs and the poverty in which they were steeped and by their philosophy of life. These field observations suggested that the lessons should not be loaded with informations of purely academic importance. On the other hand, it was realised that they would be very well received if a few practical and practicable suggestions only were given as messages in the lessons.

Guidelines for revision

Feedback reports also provided some useful information to

rationalise the revision of materials. On the basis of 12 feedback reports received in phase II, materials including visuals were revised. Materials were also revised on the basis of tests conducted to determine the amount of information gained and retained by participants. The number of participants answering a question correctly was taken roughly as an index of the degree of acceptance of the message. The information was used in improving some of the lessons.

Similarly, the answers given by 141 participants from 12 centres in the final assessment conducted in February 1975, after all the subject areas had been covered, were also analysed. The results indicated that 17 messages required increased emphasis while 12 could be retained as they were and that addition of two new items in the lessons was required.

In the course of the final revision of the lessons used in the non-formal education project due consideration was given to the level and intelligibility of the language used and the methodology followed in the lessons. Sources materials used in phase I were revised for use in the preparation of lessons for phase II. Sources material on child development and rearing practices was prepared by the professor of child development, college of home sciences, Hyderabad, and this was modified by the project officer (materials) to suit the local conditions. Source material on general knowledge and information about services were obtained from the publications of the Andra pradesh information department. Agricultural department and the agricultural university.

Non-formal Education in the Setting of Higher Education

Role of universities in higher education

Education after secondary stage of formal education is generally denoted as higher education. This is also called tertiary stage. Several types of institutions are engaged in the process of higher education. The universities occupy a unique position in this enterprises and are at the pinnacle of higher education and have a pivotal role to play in a country. They are autonomous bodies with or without state government's funds-according to the political ideology of the country. From the time the universities were established-even during the time of Nalanda and Taxila in ancient India-they are able to set trends in the society. It is all the more significant now. The universities like Oxford, Cambridge, Sorbonne, Harvard, Yale and Leningrad are world renowned as they are able to set the tone of theoretical discussions in various fields of natural sciences, social sciences and humanities. They are the acknowledged leaders in the field of higher education. Till recent times the universities stood aloof interested in expanding the frontiers of knowledge and serving an elite and not about the requirements of common man. The objectives and the role of the universities are undergoing changes. Alternative channels are slowly making inroads in university education. These changes in universities are traced with special references to the universities in India. The origin of present day universities in India could be traced from medieval universities of Europe and Britain as the first Indian universities were modelled after

London University. These universities were transplantations by the British rulers of India and did not get any nourishment in the early stages from indigenous culture. They have no roots nor did they desire any inspiration either in structure or curriculum from Nalanda or Taxila.

The objectives of education and that of higher education have undergone vast change today from what they were in British India. During these thirty seven years from 1947 tremendous changes have taken place on all fronts and fields in India as in the rest of the world. The rising of independent nations and general awareness of developing and less developed countries have brought home the need to experiment with new methods in all fields including that of education. The concept of life-long education has captured the imagination of intellectuals and commoners alike. The university has to take the challenge of making this a reality. In this environment the spread of education by non-formal means like the correspondence education has assumed great significance. A review of the origin, the aims and functions of universities from their inception to the present day will make it easier to comprehend the immense changes taking place in the universities.

Evolution of the universities in Europe

The modern universities have their genesis in the twelfth century universities of Europe which catered to the people who could pursue knowledge for its own sake-to people who are interested in disinterested pursuit of knowledge. Later on from the medieval period i.e., from fourteenth century onwards, the universities came under the fold of the catholic church. The universities in those days were supranational in a sense. "The very work 'university' denoted in ancient Bologna the society of foreign students, associating themselves into 'nations': Ultramontane, Lombard, Tuscan and Roman." Students could migrate from one university to another. They spoke the same language, Latin. The students in the universities formed an

international community. Ashby maintains that the peoples of Europe in those days united in an intellectual solidarity that they have never since regained. The graduates were trained theologians, lawyers or physicians and occupied positions of responsibility in the church and the state. At the end of fifteenth century, University of Paris became a power in a sense that the ideas flowing there influenced and guided the policies of that time. Sometimes there were dissensions and quarrels. The universities.

Contributed an intellectual common-wealth embodying the same ideal, fulfilling the same function exchanging students and ideas. The great contribution to society was as Rushdall said universities placed the administration of human affairs...in the hands of educated men.

European universities in 19th century

Any University tried to live upto its ideal and at the same time tries to be socially relevant. Renaissance and later reformation brought a number of changes. By the 19th century the catholic church lost its hold and the solidarity of the earlier centuries was thereby lost. The universities were in turmoil and underwent changes as nation states came into prominence when loyalty to the state replaced implicit faith in the church. For example, in France under Napoleon, the supremacy of the state was unquestioned and hence the influence of the universities diminished. In Italy a number of small states came into existence and the university got splintered. But in England and Germany, the universities adapted themselves to new social conditions. Germany introduced a new dimension into the set-up of a university as a research body, teacher surrounded by disciples-resembling the Indian gurukul. The teacher's function in that set-up is not only to discuss but to be in a perpetual quest for truth.

Objectives of universities in 19th century

The aims of universities in England and Scotland and the U.S.A. prevalent at that time gives an idea about the objectives with which the British established in a subject nation like India and on what lines the universities developed. In Cambridge and Oxford there was no professional faculties of theology, law or medicine; they concentrated on faculty of arts which was a prerequisite for any professional course in those days. There was no disinterested pursuit of knowledge in the form of research. These institutions provided an all-round education for a privileged class. The new foundations in England in 19th century like university of Manchester and colleges associated with university of London took utilitarian approach and included technological subjects as they were relevant to the bourgeoisie of England immediately after the Industrial Revolution. Scottish universities, on the other hand retained the faculties of theology, law and medicine to which a number of students were admitted every year. "There was no effort to superpose character-training on the formal teaching, or to cultivate the qualities of leadership; the universities offered learning to the rank and file of the people." The Scottish university was adapted to the social environment and poor students could also get admission. Study was sandwiched between the annual cycle of crops and terms were fixed so as to suit the agricultural year. In Oxford and Cambridge people arrived by coaches being mostly children of upper classes while in Scottish universities, they came walking. Oxford and Cambridge were insulated by Anglicanism, Scotland maintained contact with other universities, especially those of Holland. German universities taught meticulous accuracy, Oxford and Cambridge taught students to be reasonable and conform to the life of a gentleman of leisure, Scottish universities gave students a durable set of moral principles.

The European (Spanish) proto-type universities got transplanted first in Latin America. The course of their history

was different. The first transplantation of university from England occurred in North America-in British colonies of that time. It was Harvard and modelled on Cambridge University- especially the laws, liberties and orders. But this university had no constraints and was free to adopt or dissent from the practices of higher education in Britain. The migrants could do what they wanted. It is a paradox that the puritan fathers having escaped from political persecution of England created rigidity of moral values. On the other hand Yale, Brown and Rutgers in the U.S.A. were orthodox instruments of community and faith. In the U.S. There is a lay control as against academic control and community has a say in the functioning of the universities from the beginning of their inception. The 'democratization of the curriculum' started in U.S.A. in Cornell University. Greek was introduced with the renaissance, natural sciences with the enlightenment, technology at the tail-end of the industrial revolution. Mass education has its beginnings in America. It might have dulled sensitivity to quality in some universities but it has in no way hindered high quality product and growth of centres of excellence. The innovation is a necessity in 19th century America, as it is now in developing and less developed countries. Young America had no use for 'scholarly elites', the social pressure acting on a system of higher education in U.S.A. Produced land-grant colleges, which are the unique contribution of the U.S.A. to the broadening role of universities.

Transplantation of British University system in India

We shall now turn to a study of what types of universities were transplanted to the India soil. Britain did not consider as to what type of university would suit the Indian conditions. Instead she wanted the Indian University to be fascimile of a University of England. Hence the highly research-oriented universities in Germany or centralised or articulated educational system of Frances was not considered. In Latin America the universities were started under the aegis of the

Church and King of Spain. In North America the emigrants themselves started the universities-of course based on universities in England. In countries like Japan the government itself imported western higher education for modernisation. In India the British Government transplanted the British system. At that time in England there were five generic types of universities. There were no clearly enunciated "principles of higher education, as in the present day. London University was taken as the model (which was created in 1836). It was established solely to conduct examination in the outlying colleges and award degrees. It did not start teaching till 1900. It conducted examinations to external students from any institute approved by the Privy Council in any part of the British Empire or within territories under the Government of East India Company. But the curriculum in London was novel-after two years of study B.A. degree was given on the results of a single examination and a further two years study was required for M.A. degree. In the curriculum mathematics and classics formed the hard core of the examination. Botany, chemistry and animal physiology were introduced as optional subjects. Degrees in science subjects were introduced in 1860. Further it was non-sectarian.

Birth of Indian Universities

Wood's despatch was prepared by East India Company for its educational policy. The despatch provided for the constitution of universities in India. A senate was constituted with members appointed by the Privy Council. Three universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras were established in 1856. The fundamental aim of these universities was of diffusing "the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe". The main emphasis was on European learning and the Indian heritage was brushed aside in the university. The special oriental institutions supported by East India Company continued under a separate status and oriental studies were not included in the new found universities. medical course and

legal course presented no problems-british system was followed-except in the legal course, Municipal law and positive law were included by the universities. The arts course was different from the English model. English was compulsory and one Indian language (or Vernacular) has to be taken. The subjects in the curriculum were mathematics, natural philosophy, physical sciences, mental and moral sciences. A degree could be obtained after matriculation by attending four years of college. Somehow the universities did not attain the academic standards of London University. Wood's despatch conceived the university with the aim of transmitting an alien culture. The students coming out of the university have to be eligible for government service was another aim for establishing universities. In this aim the universities proved successful. As time progressed some of the university's narrowness was removed and a number of disciplines were added.

Role of the Indian Universities

In the beginning the university's role was to hold examinations for the colleges in its jurisdiction. Gradually they became teaching institutions. Indian languages, oriental learning and philosophy was not included in the university curriculum till half a century later. In 1920s they became research bodies. The main problem faced by the universities can be expressed in the words of Sir Eric Ashby.

To exclude from university studies for half a century the whole of oriental learning and religion and purvey to Hindus and Muslims a History and Philosophy whose roots lie exclusively in the Mediterranean and in Christianity, to communicate the examinable skeleton of European Civilization without ensuring that the values and standards which give flesh to those bones are communicated too, to set up the external paraphernalia of an University without the warmth fellowship of academic society;

those are the handicaps against which India Universities are still struggling and which prevent the University from becoming the Centre and focus of India's intellectual life.

The universities increased from three at the time of inception to 20 in 1947 when India gained its independence. All the universities more or less followed the same pattern. Banaras Hindu University (in 1916 and Aligarh Muslim University (in 1920) were specialty established to highlights the culture of the respective communities under the aegis of the centre. Even though oriental learning very heavily on western concepts. Still with all the draw-backs, higher education succeeded in awakening in the people the need to strive for democracy and flight the British. Education was titled towards arts (or liberal education) and there was disproportionate number of lawyers. (It is of interest to note here that Britain after her experience in India never started universities in other colonies as they didn't want disgruntled subjects.

Aims of University Education in India

After independence the goals of higher education took definite shape. The need to reform the university education in India became essential and urgent in order to achieve a break form the legacy of the colonial past. But as there were apprehensions in revamping the entire system at one stroke, changes were introduced gradually. The goals of new India have no ambiguity. The newly formed government of India set up a commission to go into the problems of university education in India under Radhakrishnan as the chairman. The report came out in 1949. As stated in this report it is for the universities to create knowledge and train minds who would bring together the two-" material resources and human energies." The university is

to provide a coherent picture of the universe and an integrated way of life. We must obtain through it a

synoptic vision, asynoptic vision a 'samanvaya' of different items of knowledge".

The university education is to produce cultured people. Here culture is taken as intellectual alertness, receptiveness to beauty, humane feelings and social enthusiasm. In the same report it is said that the universities should act as the organs of civilization-i.e., universities have to train and nurture the intellectual who can guide the country. People have strive for an integrated education. Education should produce knowers of self, 'atmavit' and not just knowers of tests 'mantravit'. Education has to be considered as growth. What Cardinal Newsman said in 1852 is of relevance even today. The function of the university continues "to be training good members of society". Indian education has to strive to provide social justice, keeping the dignity of the individual in an environment of democracy. The same aims and objectives of higher education were once again delved deep into in the Indian Education Commission Report of 1964-66 and reiterated. The commission delineates the aims as

to seek and cultivate new knowledge, to engage vigorously and fearlessly in the pursuit of truth and to interpret old knowledge and beliefs in the light of new needs and discoveries...to strive to promote equality and social justice and to reduce social and cultural differences through diffusion of education-foster in the teachers and students and through them in society generally, the attitudes and values needed for developing the good life in individuals and society.

The Indian universities in particular should

learn to serve as the conscience of the nation, they should encourage individuality, variety and dissent with in a climate of tolerance-they should develop programmes of adult education in big way.

When Indian Education Commission gave its report, the number of universities rose to 64 in 1996, 108 in 1984. At the present there are 179 some of the universities are residential and some affiliating ones. There are certain established disciplines and some old universities are retaining their pre-eminence and the new universities are trying to catch up. The Kothari Commission has clearly states

At present 'Centre of gravity' of Indian academic life is largely outside India. That is to say, our scholars and scientists working in fields which are internationally cultivated still tend to look outside India for judgment of their work, for intellectual models of the problems which they study, for the books they read and for their forum of appreciation and approval

This perhaps was one of the chief reasons for the universities not able to take up the challenges of Indian society. India has still not recovered completely from her reliance on western institutions. India still looks to them to guide her and solve her problems. India should look at her problems in her socio-logical, economic and political background and not with the coloured glasses of an alien culture which she does not understand completely.

Life long Education in the context of University Education

At this stage it is worthwhile to pose the question "should higher education cater to a favoured few, an elite who will be the trend-setters or to masses? This is the crucial question which is being faced by higher education in the entire world. It is felt that education should not be the prerogative of a few, but should be freely available to all. Education is not something which begins or ends in a class-room. Education is a continuous process which is always in the making; it should be regarded as co-terminus with life itself. Education which is imparted should be life-long. This is not a new concept but it

has received world-wide attention. An ideal teacher (according to Indian philosophy and western philosophy) is one who is a life-long student—a 'vidyarthi' in the true sense—a seeker of knowledge. This philosophy of life-long education has been extended to the general public. The International Education Commission 'Learning to Be' has explored the ways and means of making life-long education a possibility and a reality.

In the context of higher education what are the implications of life-long education? Is it the same as opening the possibility of pursuing higher education at any stage in life or on part-time basis or by correspondence? Is life-long education the same as recurrent education, where is possibility of getting education from competent persons and experts in the field one is interested in? Recurrent education has assumed importance in the present technological society where the skills become obsolete rapidly, as new techniques and innovations emerge. This makes the professional to move with times and adapt to the new ways. No, life-long education is something more than that. There will be a conscious effort by a person to learn always. Hence the goal/ideal will be the

education enterprise will become efficient, just and human by undergoing radical changes affecting the essence of educational action as well as the time and place for education, in short by adopting the concept of life-long education.

It is easy to make the above statement. How can it be practised? Is it the same in developed and developing countries? In the developed countries there is compulsory education for periods varying between 10 and 12 years and there is almost hundred percent enrolment. (It does not necessarily mean that everyone completes secondary education). In a country like U.S.A., higher education is freely accessible to those who come out of secondary education. They can go to universities, four year liberal colleges, and community colleges apart from various technical schools. But

not all the people coming out of secondary education are keen to enroll in full-time education. To them an alternative system is better. In countries like the U.S.S.R. part-time education and correspondence education has been used for the benefit of people in the working-force from the days of October revolution. The alternative channels can open up in making education change from a purely utilitarian aspect to something of a more permanent nature. It is hoped that what is said in 'Learning to Be' will become a reality.

In this light, tomorrow's education must form a co-ordinated totality in which all sections of society are structurally integrated. It will be universalized and continual. From the point of individual people, it will be total and creative and consequently individualized and self-directed. It will be the bulwark and driving force in culture, as well as in promoting professional activity. This movement is irresistible and irreversible. It is the cultural revolution of our time

It has to be questioned whether the above statement is a utopian vision-or whether it is possible to make such a revolution in education in a reality? If so, how? Several agencies like private trusts, parochial institutions, government contribute to the spread of education. The special contributions which the universities can make with their unique position given to them by the society are discussed. In developing countries like India, even the rudiments of education are not within the reach of millions. But the universities are in a position to bring about changes in several aspects of society. For examples the universities can train special teachers for adult education programmes (which they are doing under the national Adult Education programme).

The changing role of university education in the present times

The primary function of the universities is to be centres of

excellence from where new ideas originate. Where leadership qualities take shape and where scientific talents emerge. The question posed is, should the universities remain aloof, keeping the churning out of specialised knowledge as their sole reason for existence and handing them out to a selected few or should they join the mainstream and try to solve the problems of society and make education freely accessible to large numbers. If the first proposition is acceptable, the universities will be shutting off most of their community from the universities' orbit. When the universities were started, they were elite institutes-with admissions limited to a few. The products of these universities were considered the cream of the society. But as time progressed, universities multiplied. Still the access to the universities is restricted and limited (changing from country to country). The egalitarian principle is catching up with everyone and with the increased awareness and rise in the aspirational level of the common man, the university has to respond to the demand of the commoner and not stay in the fringe. Then the second proposition assumes special significance in the present context.

The origin of the university was traced in early part of this chapter. In the beginning of 20th century the role of the universities was that of a 'sanctuary of truth'. The main function of university was a mission to see that values like adhering to strict academic discipline and research were carried. In the renowned universities strict and very high standards were maintained. In Britain and European countries admission was restricted to a few and in the recent years it is being liberalized by establishing new universities and institutes of higher education. The danger of established universities is they become conservative and tend to resist change. They are not willing to experiment with new ideas and innovate.

In the present day the newly independent democratic countries have pledged themselves to serve the people and bring them out from a morass of poverty and superstition.

These countries have to be socially responsive to the demands of the people. The universities cannot stand aloof as specialised institutions but should take up the challenge and play their role in the efforts to transform society. Disciplines which help to advance the ideals of society should be developed. They should not be unduly attached to disciplines which have got entrenched but are no longer useful to contemporary society. The individual student should be able to choose from disparate disciplines.

The underlying philosophy is that education (perhaps at all levels) should no longer be concerned with transmission of a fixed and inherited body of knowledge but rather with the development of competence (vocational and social) of the individual. It is the ability to do that is important rather than the ability to reproduce predetermined quantities of knowledge. The intellectual stimulation becomes a part of the exercise. Therefore the universities, as repository of wisdom, have also to take the mantle of social conscious keepers. The universities need not necessarily uphold only the role of 'sanctuary of truth' including pursuit of scientific truth as an end in itself. Apart from being a mission university, it should strive to become a mirror university, that is to mirror the desires and aspirations of the people and should respond to them. The university has to come to the doorstep of the masses. The external objectives become dominant-i.e., they should provide much needed manpower essential for the political and economic growth of the country. These can be called the social-service station or culturemarts. Unlike in the case the 'sanctuary of truth' type universities, the external members and community will have the voice on the activities of the universities and the wishes of students will be taken into account.

The IEC envisaged that the non-academic element i.e., members of the community will be able to exert considerable influence though not actually impose their views.

The representation of the non-academic element on university bodies should be mainly for the purpose of presenting the wider interests of society as a whole to the university but not to improve them.

Imposition by any one, be it a scholar or a politician, can bring no positive results. The upward flow of ideas from the lower levels needs encouragement and is essential. The red brick universities of England, land-grant colleges and community colleges of U.S.A., agricultural universities in India were established in response to the peoples' wishes.

The significance of correspondence education

The concept of correspondence education goes well with the concept of life-long education. Education should be available to an individual as and when she/he requires it. This removes the age-old discrimination that people of younger age group alone are ready for higher education. This also removes the time-bound programmes. The universities have to come forward in making this concept alive and vibrant not by formal system alone, but by using alternative channels of non-formal system. The extra-mural departments, the extension lectures and later, the correspondence courses, were the beginnings of non-formal channel. They were started in the 19th century itself but did not come into full bloom until middle of 20th century. Probably, Soviet Russia is the only place where correspondence education was fully utilised from the time of the October Revolution. These courses were conducted for adults. A country can progress on all fronts only if adults of the country can meaningfully participate in all aspects of country's activities. Even in 1944, the Sargent Report of British India had recommended that "The role of adult education is to make every possible member of a state an effect and efficient citizen

and thus to give reality to the ideal of democracy". In India, so far, the general attitude to adult education has been to view it as connoting adult literacy. The reason is obvious, for the problems in this country is vastly different from what it is in western countries.

A child must learn to walk before he can run; an adult must be literate before he can hope to derive any benefit from the facilities of education in any wider sense...The main emphasis in the country must, for sometime to come, be on literacy, although from the very beginning, some provision must be made for adult education proper, so that those made literates may have an inducement as well as an opportunity to pursue their studies.

Even when the IEC in 1964-66 studies the problems of education it made a passing references to adult education even though it was felt that adult illiteracy is a hindrance to society and observed.

The function of adult education is to provide ever adult citizen with an opportunity for education of the type which he wishes and which he should have for his personal achievement, professional advancement and effective participation in social and political life....An effective programme of adult education in the Indian context should envisage the following-liquidation of literacy-continuing education-correspondence courses.

In India adult illiteracy had been continuously going up and the Government of India launched a large scale national Adult Education programme in October, 78. The efforts in India have to be directed to make the public knowledgeable and thee is need to look at the experiments and innovations made in other countries. A country like the U.S.S.R. could bring about dramatic changes by launching adult education programmes.

Even now correspondence education and part-time education are as popular and as effective as full-time courses. It is seen that there is no disparity in the standards between the regular and other courses. But the case is not the same in European countries and the U.S.A. The correspondence course were in vogue in U.S.A. from the end of 19th century. The courses never increased their pace. They were considered as an appendage to regular full-time courses and second-rate Premier universities in U.S.A. were giving only lip sympathy and these courses were conducted at a peripheral level and on a small scale.

Special features of correspondence courses

People who frown at correspondence course do not realise that in these courses extra effort has to be put in by the teacher and the pupil. Otherwise it is likely to degenerate into a lifeless course in which the aim is just to score some credits. Dr. Harper who started correspondence course in early 1880s has said that both the teacher and the pupil have to be alive.

The teacher must be painstaking, patient, sympathetic and alive and the correspondence pupil must be earnest, ambitious, appreciative and likewise alive. The student will either acquire these qualities and succeed or he will remain as he was at the beginning, and fail.

The correspondence course are different, in that there is no peer group and the contact with the main nerve centre (i.e., the university or institute conducting the courses) is minimal. The curriculum here need not necessarily be graded as in formal system and attendance is not obligatory. The formal system is job-oriented and elitism is encouraged. The non-formal system is egalitarian to its approach and gives enrichment to life. The multiple point entry is a great asset of this system. It is less expensive than the regular courses and people can take courses while pursuing their careers/work. The formal system might produce well-qualified people with or without life adjustment.

Non-formal system's objective itself is to take life-adjustment into account. Both systems should be geared to productivity. As far as possible, duplication avoided and innovative methods used. Libraries and resources centres and important regional centres are very essential.

The education in the formal system is largely oriented towards youth. It is generally felt that education is preparatory to life. But in reality, education is continuous with life. The entire population comprising the society should be seen as a natural resources to draw education. Education is nothing but shared experience between teachers and students, a co-operative relationship develops between them and learning becomes a shared experience. The non-formal system takes this aspect into account. This enables us to ease out the movement of people in and out of college furthering work-study programmes. The physical and human resources of the school and college facilities would be used to the maximum extent possible. In the developed countries there is a shift towards mass higher learning. In India (as in developing countries) higher education is able to cater to a small percentage of people. But in sheer number the people aspiring for higher education is astronomical. Radical changes are needed in public policies to promote life-long learning like study leave through released time from employment retraining programmes that promise new careers. Here the university has too step-in. It should cease to be a sheltered spot for study and research only. It has to go to the service of the society without over-extending or weakening its position or standards. Continuing education long considered as a second-class function has suddenly taken a new importance, challenging resident education, research and competing vigorously for the resources to carry out its new responsibilities. Continuing education becomes a conduit for the transfer of knowledge from campus to community where it can be applied to solve problems.

The scene in India

In India this type of education assumes greater importance. Education has not yet paid all its dividends bringing in a synthesis and understanding to solve problems in rural and backward areas. In India, the Centre and the states have to spread education for social betterment. Previously education was a state subject but now it has been included in the concurrent list in the Constitution. But it is difficult to say whether the States or Centre could regulate education better. State can look after the regional needs better while the centre can tackle the global changes better. Even in a country like the U.S.A., where private enterprise is encouraged, Federal government is funding several projects towards solution of social problems. Moreover the technological change is running ahead of the ability of social institutions to absorb changes.

To serve the community more efficiently education should shift from elitist to mass education. The school and college become community centres. At the higher level, the university may discover that a programme of continuing education is much less the delivery of an educational service to a given clientele than it is the convening of citizens about critical, societal issues with the process and the impact not the delivery, the aim of highest fidelity. Continuing education about societal issues and citizen participation is among the foremost challenges of the future.

Non-formal education it clear that education is person-oriented and not an institution-oriented. Higher learning can take place in offices, industrial plants, libraries and other centres of community. The community does not remain on the periphery as a client receiving fringe benefits, but it serves as a learning centre. The citizens and institutions participate as advisors in all phases of education and training activity from planning to achievement. At this juncture, universities will make their unique contribution to society at large.

Autonomous institutional model of open education

All these characteristics are necessary for life-long education to flourish. Whether they are sufficient is known from the environment which is provided. The ultimate goal is in its relevance and relation to life problems as those envelop all aspects of a person, being and becoming. The autonomous institutional model of open education for higher education is based on these principles. It has the following features. It is accessible to all including those with no formal qualifications. The teaching, assessment and accreditation functions are integrated-unlike in the external degrees and to a lesser degree in correspondence courses. There is no conflict between full-time and part-time students as in conventional universities which run correspondence courses. Hence there is a strong motivation on the part of the institution to experiment with different methods of distance teaching. The institution is free to devise new educational programmes, media methods and target population.

The following are the examples of this type of institutional model:

- (1) The Open University, United Kingdom
- (2) Allama Iqbal Open University, Pakistan
- (3) Athabasca University, Canada
- (4) Everyman University, Israel
- (5) Sri Lanka Institute of Distance education
- (6) Fern Universitat, West Germany
- (7) Free University of Iran
- (8) Universidad Estatal Costa Rica
- (9) Nacionel Aleerta, Venezuela
- (10) Universidad Nacionel de Education a Distancing, Spain
- (11) Centre National de Tele-Enseignement, Paris
- (12) University of New England, Armidale

- (13) Gakuen Correspondence High School, Tokyo
- (14) Macquarie University, Sydney
- (15) TV Agriculture High School, Warsaw
- (16) All-Union Correspondence Polytechnical Institute, Moscow
- (17) Tele-Universitat, Quebec
- (18) Memorial University, Newfoundland
- (19) Empire State College, New York
- (20) Coast-line Community College, California
- (21) University of Mid-America
- (22) University of South Africa
- (23) Central Radio and Television University, China, with 28 provisional TV Universities
- (24) Open University, Netherlands
- (25) Andhra Pradesh Open University, Hyderabad, India
- (26) University of the Air of Japan, (UAJ)
- (27) Universities Terluks, Indonesia
- (28) Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi, India
- (29) and proposed Open Universities in Bangladesh, Poland, France, Turkey, Nigeria and Palestine (Kaye and Romble, 1981; towards an Open Learning System 1982; Shale 1987)

A chain reaction of establishment of Open Universities all over the world is seen. In India, we have a national Open University and regional Open Universities like in Andhra Pradesh. Already one in Bihar (Nalanda) and another in Rajasthan (Kota) are in the making. The primary role of these Universities in India is to avoid wastage of scarce resources and use innovative and flexible approach to ensure access to one and all and make them cost effective.

Agencies at work

It may not be out of place here to take a look at the functional agencies that are responsible for educational policies in India, the U.K., the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. it may be kept in mind, however, that these agencies are an outcome of the political philosophy of these countries. In India and the United Kingdom, the government machinery is in operation with regard to educational policy, i.e., there is Ministry of Education in India and Department of Education and Science (DES) in the United Kingdom. These departments are in overall charge of education and co-ordinates the various educational systems present in the country. Commissions are appointed from time to time to examine the status of education and educational institutions in the country and offer recommendations. Under this comes Radhakrishnan's Report on University Education (1948), Mudaliar's Report on secondary Education (1953) and Kothari's Report on Indian education (1966) in India; Robbins' Report on Higher education and Lord James Report on Teacher Education and Training in 1963 and 1972 respectively, in the United Kingdom. In the U.S.A. there is no Federal Ministry of Education to set broad educational policy as Education is a state subject. Due to prevailing world trends, in recent times, the federal government is making available special funds...for furthering the education of minorities and for research purposes in sciences. The government also once in a while orders and appoints committees like report on Higher education during Truman's time and review committee on Education beyond the High School. But the private foundations like Kellogg and Carnegie survey the problems of education with the help of leading educationists and exert a lot of influence. The Carnegie's Report on Higher Education is a result of monumental work. The Committee with the help of experts in the field, from the home country and abroad, went into the various aspects of the system of higher education and released periodically reports which have dealt in depth about problems and given recommendations. In the U.S.S.R., the Central

Government directed by CPSU is completely incharge of education and gives direction to various institutions. In India and the U.K., there is no guarantee that all the recommendations of the commission have to be implemented. But the reports become the fountain-head from where all the policies emanate. In U.S.A., the recommendations of the reports carry a lot of influence on the policy decisions of various institutions on a purely voluntary basis.

Changing Patterns of Education

We are, currently on the threshold of changes as great as those that followed from Gutenberg's invention of the printing press in the middle of the fifteenth century and its introduction in England by Caxton. It was no accident that the last decades of that century saw the birth and development on the one hand of numerous educational institutions and on the other of humanistic studies in place of purely devotional ones. Such a cultural expansion could not have occurred if all books had had to be laboriously produced as manuscripts. In the sixteenth century the leaders of the Reformation, especially Calvin, promoted the idea of universal literacy, a concept which would have been unthinkable without the printing press. Yet this idea was in conflict with another great development of the same period, namely the evolution, primarily by Erasmus, of the concept of a liberal education. There was nothing democratic about Erasmus's concept; a liberal education was to be offered to the elite, the masses being required only to acquire skill in an occupation.

The liberal education of the minority that he advocated consisted mainly of classical literary studies leading to an intelligent comprehension of texts. Erasmus believed that such studies until the age of 18 were the sure foundation for any form of further study; that a man educated thus could subsequently learn any discipline.

We can still discern, in English society more than 400 years later, two schools of thought which reflect little more

than the view of Erasmus on the one hand, and of Calvin on the other. We might even feel that, for all that has happened in that time, the overall patterns of education have changed very little. That is, of course, a gross exaggeration that yet contains a grain of truth.

What has happened is that we have—or very nearly have—achieved Calvin's goal of universal literacy through a system of compulsory schooling. Yet much of that schooling, given that the study of Latin and Greek has been largely abandoned, consists of the literary studies and the intelligent comprehension of texts that were advocated by Erasmus. This may well be wholly unsuitable for all *except* the elite. There is still a wide acceptance in practice of the idea that a liberal general education to the age of 16 or 18 is a fitting preparation for any career. Yet there has been, over four centuries, a steady acceleration in the rate of acquisition of new knowledge; and the complexity of each discipline has greatly increased. It seems to me that the pattern of education has not adjusted to this change so that we are now in a state of disequilibrium where there will have to be a massive quantal change in the educational pattern to restore the balance.

On the other hand there does not appear to be any sign that this disequilibrium is widely appreciated by the educational world; or, where it is appreciated, that there is any readiness to accept the massive changes that could restore the balance. There are, of course, many reasons for resistance to change. First, as Cornford said in *Microcosmographia Academica*, 'There is only one reason for doing anything; all the rest are reasons for doing nothing'. Most of us in education tend to think of the education that we received—which has, after all, fitted us for the important jobs we now hold!—as a reasonably good model for what we now do. This is a wholly understandable feeling and underlies many of our *laissez-fair* attitudes to education. Second, the current educational pattern has, over the years, led to the evolution of a whole range of

service industries which depend upon a continuation of the system. One obvious one is the publishing industry—it is always said that a successful school book comes second only to the Bible as a money spinner. There are, therefore, even outside the teaching profession, a lot of vested interests in maintaining the current educational pattern.

Third, the profession too is concerned quite naturally about jobs and conditions of service and does not take kindly to the prospect of profound change.

Fourth, the politicians who growl about the inadequacies of the through-put of the educational system, blame the profession, the curriculum, the differences in the governance of schools, the lack of parental control, the indiscipline in schools—anything but the nature of the educational system itself, which only they can change. We spend nearly eight billion pounds a year on the system; but, for all the Acts that have been passed, we make only trivial alterations to it—tinkering at the edges.

So we see the overall situation as one where there exists a great disequilibrium on the one hand and a widespread reluctance to make changes on the other. These are not new phenomena. They have, I think, been there for many years. We have been poised on the brink of change. But recently the situation has been affected by a new factor—the communications explosion—which is liable to throw the whole situation into such a turmoil that the change actually comes about.

The communications explosion has led to a great increase in the demand for continuing education; and many new potential ways of offering education. Until the arrival of telegraphy and air transport the world was a very large one. News, even of events of cataclysmic importance, could take days, weeks, even months to become known. The advent of radio and more especially of television added drama to the

immediacy of news. News of a disaster—famine, flood or pestilence—formerly arrived too late for any effective help to be made available. Thus the news might induce pity but did not induce concern. Nowadays we not only know of disaster as it happens, we are also presented with vivid pictures in full colour within a matter of hours. All over the world this new immediate and dramatic awareness of global events and problems has led to public concern. This, in turn, has led millions of people to realize that they lack the ability to participate in solving the problems since they possess neither the background knowledge to comprehend the nature of many global problems, nor the power to help solve them even if they had the knowledge.

The other effect of the communications explosion upon the educational pattern is, of course, better recognized, but as yet little applied. It is the wealth of technology that is already waiting to be brought to the service of education. Harold Wilson, in setting up the Open University, wanted the technology of mass communication to be harnessed to serve education. He was thinking primarily of television. Today television is only one of the powerful techniques available. Harold Wilson had been impressed by the use made of TV in the USA for educational instruction in such programmes as *Sunrise Semester*.

TV was the technology envisaged by Harold Wilson in 1963; it is now only one of many communication technologies that can be used for education. It has for some years been possible to design systems of individualized self-paced instruction. Each pupil has access to a station in which is placed a complete set of instructional materials; text, tape, film loop, experimental equipment and so on. Following the instructions of a printed programme, he proceeds through each lesson in his own time and tests his own comprehension at intervals by a series of built-in self-assessment questions. Should he get stuck, he has, if the system is operating in an

institutional setting, access to a tutor. This is actually very much the pattern used by the Open University but when teaching is home-based access to the tutor is necessarily much more limited. We have seen the same system in use at the sixty-formal level in an institution in Mexico where it revealed quite staggering differences in the rates at which pupils could progress. Surely there is a fairly simple lesson here: it is difficult *on academic grounds* to justify the principle of mixed ability classes in the face of such results. There may well be other justifications.

But this is still very simple technology. Nowadays one could provide at each station, for each pupil, a mini-computer and a television screen linked by modem to a telephone, thus providing two-way video communicator with a distant teacher, access to a national computer network, access on demand to the complete contents of a national library and access to film library. This could all be provided at home; there would be no real *academic* need for anyone to attend school or college or university. There are, of course, overwhelming non-academic reasons for continuing to have schools and colleges and universities; they are vitally necessary for all sorts of social reasons.

For the cost of one year's current expenditure on education a great deal could be done to establish such a new system. An investment of eight billion pounds is nevertheless a very large one and many people would demand pilot experiments to produce evidence that it would all be worthwhile, before agreeing to spend the money. But that would not work. There was only one way that the Open University could be started. It started big. There were no pilot experiments. In relative terms the investments was large; millions of pounds were spent before there were any students or any evidence that the university would work. It was, in my terms, a gigantic act of faith. In the view of the less charitable it was a gigantic gamble with public money, which just

happened to come off. We consider that a new communications-based educational system can only be started if there is a further act of faith several orders of magnitude larger.

Modern neurophysiology has shown that the capacity of the human brain to develop synaptic connections between neurones is virtually infinite; but the number of connections actually made is decidedly limited. If one accepts that memory and the power of rational thought are in some way correlated to the number or quality of the networks of these synaptic connections then it follows that man has by no means yet reached the limit of his potential intellectual capacity. It is easy to jump unjustifiable from this conclusion to a further one, namely that because of this undeveloped capacity that is latent in everyone, all children are capable of far more intellectual achievement than they exhibit; and that the reason for their failure to achieve lies wholly in the environment. I do not propose to be drawn into the argument about whether such environmental factors are the *only* determinants of intelligence or whether there are genetic factors that are even more important determinants.

As educationists we can in any event, do nothing to modify genetic determinants; but we can, and should, do everything possible to try to make the environment of development approach the ideal. The problem of course is to determine what is that ideal environment. Most people would agree that, whatever it may be, it should be made available, as far as possible, to everyone. In other words we should aim not only at an ideal environment; we should also aim at equality of opportunity. Both are unachievable. One cannot compensate for the differences between parents in providing opportunities for their children unless one wholly eliminates the family unit; and even then one must replace it by the creche where the qualities of those adults chosen to look after the children will vary as greatly as do the qualities of parents. But the realization that

equality of opportunity is unachievable does not remove our responsibility for trying to achieve it as far as is practicable.

There can be no better way of achieving equality of opportunity at school than by introducing the sort of individualized self-paced instructional system described above. It could provide *all* children in *all* schools with access to the *full* range of courses of study that were available nationally. These courses could be prepared by the best available experts. Materials of great sophistication and quality can be assembled at very high cost only if the number of pupils using them is also very high. Furthermore the range of courses offered in a national system could be very wide covering all sorts of subjects. Choices by pupils would be constrained only to the extent necessary to ensure an adequate breadth of experience; there would be plenty of opportunity for elective study.

All the available evidence points to the fact that children respond very positively to learning systems of this kind. I have the faith that makes me certain that nearly all of them would benefit in that they would be able to experiment with different subject areas until they found courses that excited and stimulated them. Furthermore, more than one teaching approach to the same subject area could be offered so that children could choose the most interesting approach for them. Their progress in such courses would, astonish the sceptics. In the experiment in Mexico one 16-year-old boy completed the Open University foundation course in mathematics in just three weeks, with full comprehension as determined by examination. He, of course, was very unusual.

We therefore believe very firmly that, given a national system of this kind, there would be two very significant outcomes. First the rate of progress through initial education would be speeded up very significantly for a large proportion of the pupils.

In the USA all children go to school at 6, half of them go

on to college, a quarter graduate from college, and one in ten continues into post-graduate education. All this adds up to the fact that on average the US child will spend no less than sixteen years in full-time initial education, emerging to take his or her place in society only at 22 or more. This is the average. Some do not start work until they are middle aged. This seems to me to be an inordinately long time. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it was not uncommon for some children to graduate from university between the ages of 16 and 18. I am sure that this could still be possible. In any case the rate of progress through initial education overall could be speeded up, and even a small shortening of the period would have very significant effects in reducing the total cost.

The second significant outcome, perhaps even more important, is that the system would make it very much more likely that more children would obtain the sort of education for which they were fitted and which they themselves wanted, so that their value to the nation would be greatly enhanced.

As I mentioned before, I am not advocating a home-based system of this kind. There are extremely important aspects of education that cannot be acquired in isolation. The whole area of socialization, of learning how to relate to other people, of coming to appreciate that others are more skilful than you, or have wholly different skills from your own—these are the areas that demand an institutional setting. A corollary to my new system would then be that these who supervise in schools would become very much less the specialist academics and very much more the group leaders, maintaining discipline, advising on sensible choices of courses, administering examinations, organizing games and external activities—being in fact guide, philosopher and friend to the pupils. I believe that this could be a very rewarding career; but of course many current teachers entered the profession with very different concepts of what their work would be. It would thus be surprising if such a dramatic change of activities were to be generally welcomed by the profession.

For some years now people in many countries have come to realize that the pace of acquisition of new knowledge is not only very fast but is accelerating. All sorts of figures are quoted to dramatise the situation; as, for example, the calculation that more new information emerged last year than emerged in the whole of recorded history up to 1900. This sort of statement is easy to make and impossible to prove or disprove; but it indicates well enough the dilemma that we face. It follows that the traditional idea of Erasmus that the initial education that children are given can be a preparation—and an adequate preparation—for the whole of their working lives is simply no longer tenable. Much of what they learn at school, college and university will be out of date not just before they retire but even before they finish their initial education. It thus seems sensible to consider whether a period of initial education that *average* sixteen years is any longer sensible. Clearly education must continue throughout life to provide the updating and retraining that a modern career will demand.

In almost every developed country politicians have paid lip-service to this need to continuing education, but in very few instances has anything significant been done to provide it. The main reason for this is, of course, that the costs of the initial education programme have escalated so much that the idea of adding to them the cost of a programme of continuing education especially if it made use of conventional techniques of teaching is unacceptable. The costs of initial education have escalated because of:

1. a growth in the number of children requiring schooling—the ‘bulge’ in the birth rate;
2. legislation increasing the period of compulsory schooling;
3. an increased voluntary tendency to stay at school for longer and go on to higher education;
4. an increase in the amount of information that is being

- taught. This follows from the accelerating pace of the acquisition of new knowledge: together with a failure to prune out of the curriculum the less necessary elements;
5. an increased complexity of provision, e.g., TV, science and technology, laboratory experience, language laboratories, sophistication of school music and drama and sport provision, etc;
 6. an increased salary bill. Teachers were underpaid but had rewards of status in the community. The latter has been eroded and led to unionization and large salary demands.

The high cost of initial education which inhibits the development by the state of continuing education leads in turn to one of two conclusions. Either continuing education must be provided by a system that is not a charge on central government funds, by making individuals or employers meet the total costs; or the cost of initial education must be cut to make funds available for continuing education. The second solution has never been tried. In the UK we have so far followed the first of these courses. The result is that, although there is a great deal of continuing education of offer, the system is inchoate; there is multiple provision in some fields, and large gaps in others. Furthermore, the system is driven by the profit motive, in other words by the prospect of increasing income either for the individual or for the employer. It bears no necessary relationship to the needs of society or of the nation as a whole. This is the reason why it is difficult to meet the new demand for continual updating to which I referred earlier. It is not anyone's responsibility to pay for it.

If we could cut down the cost of initial education: how could we best provide an organized systematic programme of continuing education? This brings me to another major change in the pattern of education, namely the development of the concept of distance learning. Although there have long been commercially-based correspondence colleges, which mostly had rather poor records of academic success, it remained broadly

true that, until the Open University came along, it was widely believed in academic circles that the only way to educate anyone was to arrange face-to-face encounters between him and a teacher, so that—and I quote—'two minds could rub against each other'.

This was a charming conceit for the elite of the nineteenth century; it is an intolerably expensive fallacy in the twentieth. It denies the possibility of mass education using the media. The Open University showed that people who wanted badly enough to be educated could in fact educate themselves, given high quality help through the mass media. The academic world has come to accept, as a matter of reason based on evidence, that this is so; but there is still a considerable emotional resistance to its full acceptance.

I have already hinted at the economies of scale that lie at the heart of any system of distance learning or indeed of any self-paced individualized instructional system. Teaching materials of quality are very expensive to produce. Consequently they must be used by large numbers of students before the cost per student becomes reasonable. It thus follows, quite inexorably, that the total cost must be large, because there must be lots of students. Everything about a distance learning system must, like everything in Texas, be big. This means that distance learning systems must usually be government sponsored and may even then be beyond the reach of the governments of small countries.

On the other hand the system has much to commend it, especially when we come to consider programmes of continuing education. Let me list some of the reasons:

1. People can stay at work while studying, so that they suffer no loss of income and the country suffers no loss of productivity. No one need pay a maintenance grant.
2. Students can, if they wish, remain anonymous so that they

run no danger of being stigmatized by their colleagues should they fail a course.

3. No capital expenditure on residential or teaching accommodation is required.
4. Scarce expert teachers can reach very large audiences.
5. Courses can be kept scrupulously up to date.
6. There can be nationally accepted qualification for successful completion of the course.
7. Given adequate numbers of students the running costs per student are low.

There are, of course, limits to what distance learning can do. It cannot provide the sort of apprenticeship training that is needed to acquire manual skills. But in those fields where it can be used, it offers almost the only cheap way of introducing continuing education on a large scale.

The growth of distance-learning systems in the last decade has therefore been very striking. There are now between twenty and thirty Open Universities in almost as many countries of the world, including, for instance, Pakistan, Israel, Thailand, Australia, Germany, Venezuela, the Ivory Coast, and Sri Lanka. They offer very different sorts of courses to their students, ranging from extremely simple tropical agriculture or health care, to recent developments in micro-electronics or computers. They also differ widely in the media used for distributing courses to the students, since the choice must depend upon the communication networks available in the country concerned.

This brings me to the last of the major changes in the patterns of education that I want to mention, namely the explosive developments that are occurring in the third world and in China.

Every developing country makes strenuous efforts to increase the literacy of its population, recognizing that this is an essential prerequisite for economic advancement; and it is

characteristic that among the first priorities of each government is a teacher-training programme. The problems that many countries face are truly formidable. I remember being told by the Minister of Education from Delhi that his five-year plan called upon him to create more *new* places in primary schools than all the primary schools places in Britain. It was not only an immense task, it was also a very expensive one for a country with chronic economic difficulties.

Moreover the escalation in the cost of education in the developed countries, to which I have already alluded, makes the provision by the poorer developing countries of a system modelled exactly on the West so expensive as to be almost a pipe-dream. They must find a cheaper alternative. Yet they are, very properly, extremely suspicious of any system that has not already been tried and proved successful in the West. This is I think why there has been such an enormous interest in the Open University, which is a cheaper system, tried and proven in the UK, that offers the economies of scale which in a large developing country are of paramount importance.

I think that there is quite a good chance that it will be the developing countries of the third world, and perhaps in addition China—which is trying to counteract decades of neglect—that will first make the new patterns of education work. They will not have to surmount the barriers of vested interests and of professional pride that tend to inhibit change in the West, so they may well give the lead in introducing some of the changes in the patterns of education that I have tried to outline. This would indeed be a salutary lesson to us.

Being Effective in Continuing Professional Education

Throughout this book an attempt has been made to identify the elements of effective practice in continuing professional education. These elements include the ethical dimensions of practice, concepts of professionals both as learners and participants, the institutional context of practice, and approaches to program development and evaluation. Although these elements may be separated for analytical purposes, they do not exist in isolation in the real world of practice. Continuing educators see professionals as learners and as participants as they develop and evaluate programs, which they do within an institutional context and a particular ethical framework. Because these elements operate simultaneously in most practice situations, they must be synthesized into a coherent whole to understand and to improve practice.

Continuing educators as professionals

The identification and analysis of the elements of effective practice flow from the assumption that continuing educators are engaged in a form of professional practice. Seven when program development was described as a form of professional work. This premise is now made explicit in order to explore its implications. The foundations of this exploration are the discussions of professional practice and knowledge in Chapters Two and Three. Thus, an understanding of effective practice for continuing professional educators should be consistent with the view of effectiveness in all forms of professional practice.

The functionalist, conflict, and critical viewpoint provide three fundamentally different understandings of professional practice. It was argued that the critical viewpoint offers the most accurate understanding of professional practice and should form the foundation of understanding continuing professional educators' practice. In choosing the critical viewpoint the functionalist and conflict viewpoints were rejected because they offer incomplete descriptions of practice.

Functionalist prescriptions for effective practice offer suggestions for good practice in such areas as assessing needs, developing objectives, assessing learning outcomes, and administrating institutional units. These prescriptions are generally in the form of guidelines or principles that are to be applied to situations faced by continuing educators. Take, for example, that shibboleth of good practice, assessing the needs of learners. The principle is often stated something like this: Sponsors of continuing education programs should utilize systematic processes to define and analyze the issues or problems of individuals, groups, and organizations for the purpose of determining learning needs. While this may seem like a worthwhile goal for practice, it offers little in the way of guidance to practitioners because it ignores the crucial element of institutional context.

To be sure, there is no shortage of statements of good practice that provide what must seem a rather obvious list of things continuing educators ought to be able to do. However, the existence of such lists assumes that there are standard contexts and problems to which these principles can be applied. Herein lies the fatal flaw, as discussed, continuing educators work in a variety of different situations that make radically different demands on their skills, knowledge, and judgment. One of the fundamental problems in conceiving of effective practice as the application of principles to situations is that each principle means different things and emerges as different practices in varying contexts. A major reason, then, that

continuing educators reject textbook prescriptions for exemplary practice is that the principles are either vacuous or limited, or both.

To illustrate these points, take the example in which the continuing educator is planning a program for engineers on new techniques for designing nuclear power plants. The question to answer is: What would effective practice look like in terms of assessing the needs for this program? An important consideration in answering this question is the type of institution in which the continuing educator works. The context of a university continuing education unit provides a different set of constraints and opportunities for the educator than the power plant does for the training director. For example, the training director has direct access to the learners themselves, as well as records of their performance. Another consideration is the level of resources that the educator has available to conduct the needs assessment. Suppose the university continuing educator responds to a request from the training director for a program on the newest techniques in designing power plants. The educator knows that the training director did not conduct a systematic needs assessment and that no university resources are available to conduct one. Should his practice be judged as ineffective in this situation? What criteria would be used to do so?

Even this brief example should be sufficient to point out the shortcomings of the functionalist understanding of continuing education practice. Instead, as argued at the end of Chapter Two, continuing professional educators must operate within the critical viewpoint in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of continuing education practice and the means to improve it. The critical viewpoint asserts that practice cannot be understood as the application of standardized principles to well-formed problems because most situations faced by continuing educators are characterized by uniqueness, uncertainty, or value conflict. Like other

professionals, continuing educators must make choices about the nature of the problem to be solved as well as how to solve it. Because continuing educators are continually making choices, as opposed to simply applying principles, the critical viewpoint stresses the need to be aware of the range of choices open to educators and the ways in which these can be made. The critical viewpoint provides a framework within which to describe effective practice in continuing professional education. It offers a rich account of practice and one that can help continuing educators to improve their work.

Understanding effective practice

Continuing educators' practice must be rooted in a coherent account of its ethical, contextual, and epistemological bases. All of these bases of practice are interconnected and are implicit in all forms of practice in which continuing educators engage. The next sections discuss each of the bases in more detail.

Ethical Basis of Practice: Because they seek to change individuals through their programs, continuing professional educators, like all educators, are engaged in a normative enterprise. Any attempt to change professionals is based on ideals of what they ought to be, to know, to do, or to feel. These ideals are rooted in continuing educators' beliefs about the goodness or rightness of the new course of action. Herein lies the ethical nature of practice, for educators continually make choices, often implicitly, about the ideals toward which their activities are directed. Therefore, practice can be judged as effective only with respect to a particular ethical framework, and it can be judged as ineffective if it is inconsistent with the tenants of the framework by which it is being evaluated.

Many continuing professional educators act as if there is consensus about the proper ends of professional practice. As a result, there is rarely any discussion of the ethical dimensions of their practice. Continuing educators are often blinded to the

ethical implications of their work by the homogeneous value orientations of the environments in which they work. They are often unaware that they make ethical choices in their practice because everyone who may be involved in a particular situation agrees with those choices. Stripped of this ethical understanding, continuing educators are limited to using a paratechnical language to describe their practice, using words such as needs assessment, performance objective, collaboration, and teaching style. This provides at least a partial explanation for the current dominance of the functionalist understanding of professional practice.

In all professions there are differing, if not conflicting, ethical frameworks that guide the work of practitioners. Examples were provided in Chapter Two. In the same way, continuing educators' practice is embedded in a variety of ethical frameworks. Every educative activity for which continuing educators have responsibility is a statement about the need for a particular form of technical knowledge, as well as a statement about the proper ends of professional practice. The ethical questions that are central to educational practice are: Why should professionals have this knowledge? To what ends will this knowledge be put? and What model of the learner should guide educational decisions? The most important decisions continuing educators must make in order to answer these questions are: Who should decide on the content of the activity? and On the basis of what criteria?

These ethical choices are not some abstract ideal, but are embedded in the very fabric of practice. Let us return to the continuing engineering education example in which the training director has asked the university continuing educator for a program on the newest techniques in designing nuclear power plants. By agreeing to deliver this program, the educator has made a series of ethical choices. For example, he believes that building power plants is a good thing and that the engineers need new knowledge to build them. He may not acknowledge

having made these choices; instead, he might say he is basing his decision to offer the program on the need to generate income for the university continuing education unit. However, he cannot deny that the content of the program is consistent with a particular ideal about what society needs. His practice would be seen as effective if one agreed with this ideal and if the engineers attended the program and learned the new engineering techniques. However, his practice would be seen as ineffective if one did not agree with this ideal; for example, if participation in the program facilitates the goal of building nuclear power plants, and if one were opposed to nuclear power, then this practice would be seen as ineffective.

Our understanding of continuing education practice is impoverished by not discussing its ethical dimensions. Ethical understanding is central to the practice of all professionals and is an important criterion by which decisions are made in many situations. If continuing educators are to adequately understand and improve their practice, its ethical dimensions must be made explicit in the context of own practical knowledge, as well as in the ongoing of good practice in the continuing education literature.

Contextual Basis of practice: Continuing education practice is not conducted in a laboratory where all conditions are controlled except for the educator's actions. If this were true it would be reasonable to construct a description of ideal practices, the completion of which would produce specified results. As we know, however, practice is always conducted in a context composed of varying personalities, shifting expectations, conflicting goals, and limited resources. Because continuing educators' practice is rooted in particular sets of circumstances, it would be inappropriate to judge their efforts against some fixed ideal of good practice. Rather, to know whether practice is effective it must be judged by what is best in a given set of circumstances. Excellent practice cannot be characterized by a discrete set of knowledge of skills, but

rather by an understanding of why educators do what they do when they do it. At the root of practice is not measurable techniques but judgment, which is itself a form of knowledge.

The primary context for continuing educators is provided by the institutional setting in which they practice. Continuing educators are not independent agents developing educative activities in ways they alone believe to be the most appropriate. Rather, their concepts of a target audience, how best to serve it, and what resources are available are conditioned by their particular institutional contexts. Their work is conducted within a discretionary framework set up by the goals and resources of the agency in which they work. As described in Chapter Five, there are four principal types of institutional contexts in which continuing professional education is provided. The continuing education unit in which practitioners work will have different functions depending on the type of institution in which it is located. Thus, its effectiveness will be judged in different ways. For example, many employing agencies use continuing education to improve professionals' performance, while others use it to generate income. Some functions may not seem ideal and may even contradict an educator's vision of what constitutes effective practice. Yet, within an institutional context, these different functions help to define the circumstances within which educators practice.

The contextual relativity of practice does not mean that all practice is equally good. It does mean that practice can only be judged against what is best under the circumstances in which it occurs. Returning to the continuing engineering education example, let us ask whether the university-based continuing educator should have assessed the learning needs of the target audience. Let us assume that the training director asks for a program on the newest techniques of nuclear power plant design. To whether and what kind of needs assessment is required in this situation, more information is required. That

alone illustrates the contextually relevant nature of the decision. It is easy to conceive of a set of circumstances in which the educator should have done a systematic needs assessment but did not. Perhaps a course is taught on techniques that cannot be implemented in the engineers' work setting. This continuing educator clearly can be judged as having engaged in ineffective.

It is possible to develop guidelines that can serve as orienting principles for effective practice. However, these guidelines must be *models of practice* in the sense that are taken from studies of actual practice. The guidelines will prove useless if they are *models for* continuing practice, in the sense of prescriptions of how educators ought to conduct themselves regardless of the specific context. If guidelines are to be used to judge practice, evaluated. Context is not an adjunct to understanding effective practice; rather, it is woven into the very fabric of practice.

Epistemological Basis of Practice: To fully explain effective practice, continuing educators must be able to describe how they do what they do. This description provides an understanding of the epistemological basis of their practice. The question that is of central concern here is: "What kind of knowledge or knowing characterizes effective practice? Another way to say this is: What does one need to know to be an effective practitioner? Schon has answered these questions by offering an epistemology of professional artistry.

An epistemology that can only offer an account of the declarative knowledge possessed by continuing educators is inadequate as a tool for understanding the complexity of practice. The program planning frameworks described in Chapter Seven are examples of declarative knowledge about continuing professional education. This type of epistemology does not adequately describe the forms of knowledge that distinguish the excellent educator from the merely adequate, or in Benner's terms, the expert from the novice. For example,

many expert continuing educators cannot describe any one of the planning frameworks, whereas many novices can describe them in great detail. A more appropriate epistemology is needed to connect continuing educators' plans, techniques, ideals, and knowledge to the real judgments made in the unique, uncertain, and changing contexts of practice.

Schon responds to this need by suggesting that two forms of knowing are central to effective practice: knowing-in-action and reflection-in-action. In contrast to the epistemology that views practice as the application of knowledge, Schon assumes that continuing educators' knowing is in their actions. Many of their spontaneous actions do not stem from a rule or plan they were conscious of before their action. That is, continuing educators constantly make judgments for which they cannot state a rule or theory. In many cases this knowing-in-action does not solve a particular problem because the situations faced by continuing educators are unique, uncertain, or marked by conflicting values. Therefore, they need to construct the situation to make it solvable. The ability to do this, to reflect-in-action, is the core of effective practice.

Returning to our example, how did the university-based continuing educator decide whether or not to conduct a needs assessment for the continuing engineering education program? If Schon's analysis is correct, the continuing educator would make the best judgment under the circumstances if he were highly skilled at reflecting-in-action. What would this process look like? The assumption is that this is an indeterminate situation because it is not immediately obvious that a needs assessment should be conducted. The continuing educator's goal is to change this situation into a determinate one, one in which he is relatively certain about the correct course of action. Based on past experience, the educator has built up a repertoire of examples and understandings of situations like this. This repertoire of practical knowledge is used to make sense of the current situation, to see it as some prior situation in which his

actions were successful. Once the current situation is framed in such a way as to make it solvable, the educator would probably conduct an on-the-spot experiment to test its appropriateness. This might be done during conversations with others, such as the training director or the head of the continuing education unit, to determine their satisfaction with the potential course of action.

If effective practice is not to be utterly context-dependent, its epistemology must account for a kind of knowing that can be used in most or all situations. Reflection-in-action is such an epistemology. Its use is a key to understanding effective practice in continuing professional education. This epistemology describes how continuing educators make decisions in areas such as developing and evaluating educative activities, fostering participation in such activities, and forming interorganizational relationships. For instance, the entire program development process may be viewed as a form of reflection-in-action in which educators are continually framing ambiguous situations so as to make them solvable.

The interrelationship of the ethical, contextual, and epistemological bases of effective practice can be articulated as follows: *Effective practice in continuing professional education means making the best judgment in a specific context and for a specified ethical framework.* These judgments, which are made as a result of knowing-in-action and reflection-in-action, are evaluated as best against what is possible in the specific circumstances in which they occur and what is desirable within a particular ethical framework.

Improving practice

To improve practice, the abilities of continuing educators to make their "best judgments" must be facilitated. How can the ability to judge be facilitated by those who train continuing professional educators and by those educators themselves? To improve suggests a process of learning and thus, as discussed,

this facilitation must be based on a model of continuing educators as learners. As with other professionals, it is essential to specify how they know and how they acquire this knowledge.

Continuing educators' knowing-in-action is acquired from their reflection-in-action undertaken in the indeterminate zones of practice and from the theory and research developed in continuing education and other fields. Reflection-in-action generates new knowledge by contributing new examples, understandings, and actions to educators' already existing repertoires. The acquisition of reflection-in-action appears to be less straight forward than the acquisition of knowing-in-action. Continuing educators reflect-in-action as matter of course in their everyday life and use these same processes in their practice. However, to improve this ability continuing educators must reflect on their reflection-in-action by describing what they have done. As they can more consciously describe how they reflect and what that teaches them, continuing educators can more readily employ that form of knowing in new situations.

Practice can also be improved by participating in formal educational programs. In formal educational settings, such as conferences, workshops, and graduate programs in continuing education, declarative knowledge about continuing professional education is most often stressed. To increase the likelihood that this knowledge will be incorporated into continuing educators' practice, it must be presented in such a way that continuing educators will use it to reflect on their own practice situations in the presence of the instructor. This type of process can build the educators' repertoires of practical knowledge. Experientially based methods, such as case studies, simulations, and role plays, are useful for developing this kind of knowledge. Practice can also be improved in these settings by helping continuing educators increase their ability to reflect-in-action. Schon's suggestive account of how this process can

be coached, but not taught, is useful. Faculty in graduate programs and workshop presenters, for example, can assume the role of coaches by explaining how they would perform in given practice situations and by reflecting with participants on the ways in which they approach similar situations.

The primary responsibility for improving practice in work settings falls to continuing educators themselves. The major strategy is for continuing educators to see themselves as researchers of their own practice. Their goal should be to understand how they frame problems and their own roles, to uncover their own practical knowledge and the processes by which they use that knowledge. Individual reflections on practice can be fostered by institutionally supported activities, such as staff meetings where practitioners discuss how their practice is affected by the constraints of their organizational settings. A tremendous amount of practical knowledge generally exists in a collection of continuing educators at the workplace, which unfortunately is often not fully tapped by others. Supervisors often have a wealth of uncovered practical knowledge among their staff that is not systematically made available to everyone. Finding ways to identify and share this knowledge would offer many ways to improve the practice of individual educators, as well as the collective work of a given continuing education unit.

Continuing professional education researchers also have a role to play in improving practice. Their theoretical formulations and empirical studies have an important role in improving practice. However, much more effort and resources need to be expended in these efforts in order to improve practice. More research and development units need to be developed, such as the one at Pennsylvania State University, where a collection of researchers focuses on a particular area of continuing professional education. This could be done by any one of the four principal providers of continuing professional education or through the collaborative efforts of several

providers. Some of their work should begin to focus on continuing educators' practical knowledge and the processes these practitioners use to make the best judgments, the effect of context on these judgments, and the ethical frameworks in which these judgments are made. Researchers can do this by examining their own practice as continuing educators or by working collaboratively with practitioners. Benner, Elbaz, and Schon have offered useful ways to conduct this type of research.

Inservice Education and Training to Teachers

In-service education and training is that education and training that is provided to formally qualified teachers working in schools. And ideal teacher is a life long learner. A teacher can never truly teach unless he is learning himself. A lamp can never light another lamp unless it continues to burn its own flame" But the teachers cannot learn every thing by themselves. certain aspects of learning require guidance from experts. Here comes the necessity of in-service education.

The need

The need for in-service education and training of teachers arises because of various factors such as (a) deficits in pre-service training and education, (b) gap in pre-service training and real working situation, (c) new roles of teachers, (d) decrease in young blood in teaching professions, etc.

"If teacher training is to achieve its purpose, it must be continued throughout the teacher's entire career. This is the simplest and most effective way to disseminate the principles of educational reform as rapidly as possible with a view to introducing continuing education".

"If the development of teachers has to be effectively fostered throughout their working life, continuous training must be considered as a normal characteristic of their work".

"This constant training is more effective and more direct than the training provided before entry into the teaching profession.

The teacher with some practical experience is more aware of the inadequacies of his basic training and may concentrate on the important problems posed by the need to improve the quality of education".

"In view of the continuous renovation and development of knowledge and the constant change taking place in education systems and the increasingly creative character of educational activities, it does not seem possible to equip the student teacher with knowledge and skills which would be sufficient for his whole personal life. Therefore, the initial preparation for the profession, pre-service education and training should be considered as a first fundamental stage in the process of the continuing education of teachers and teacher educators.

In this context, a comprehensive policy is needed to ensure that teacher education is recognised as a continuous, co-ordinated process which begins with pre-service education and continues throughout teacher's professional career. In such a system, pre-service and in-service education can be integrated fostering the concept of life-long learning and the need for recurrent education".

"In-service training is of key importance to the maintenance of standards in the schools. Teachers should not be expected to implement new methods of teaching or tackle new curricular without in-service training. It is vital, therefore, that programme of in-service training should be planned within the context of teacher education as a whole".

The extracts from different international reports indicates the amount of importance being given to in-service education training of teachers. It is for this reason that Goble and Porter pointed out that "Without the third cycle it is in danger of being all theory and aspiration and little achievement". The Centre for Educational Research and Innovation of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, an organisation of a selected group of developed countries, took initiative in the matter. The Centre brought out many country studies and their synthesis Reports that served as an eye opener to many other countries.

Objectives of in-service education

A document of the UNESCO Regional Office at Bangkok mentions the following objectives.

Specific objectives

“the trainees will be able to:

- (a) identify the changes implied in the new curriculum such as principles, objectives, structures, methodologies, content;
- (b) identify new roles they will have to play;
- (c) justify the changes implied in the new curriculum;
- (d) justify the new roles they have to play
- (e) teach new content areas of the curriculum;
- (f) use new techniques/methodologies in providing learning experience in the areas of curriculum covered in the in-service action and transfer these to other areas of the curriculum;
- (g) select appropriate techniques/methodologies for providing learning experiences in the changes curriculum;
- (h) develop learning experiences related to the curriculum using inexpensive local material, local environment and appropriate soft-ware;
- (i) adapt the curriculum to local environment, making the learning locally specific and relevant;
- (j) interact with and use relevant source such as personal and material from nation building departments, local technicians, craftsmen and farmers, for providing experiences;
- (k) develop action sequences related to the curriculum for intervention in the community-for enhancement in the quality of life;
- (l) demonstrate critical thinking ;
- (m) demonstrates skills for solving problems arising out of learning/teaching situation;

- (n) deal with the problem of disadvantaged learners including relevant remedial measures;
- (o) demonstrates behaviour of continuous learning”.

General objectives

The general objectives of in-service education programmes may be as follows:

- (a) induction programme for new teachers
- (b) further education on content;
- (c) further education and training on educational technology
- (d) orientation on new education policy
- (e) orientation on new school curriculum
- (f) fitting the teacher for a new job
- (g) identification of problems and issues in education system
- (h) filling up gap in pre-service education and training
- (i) preparing teachers for future system of education
- (j) development of life-long education skills
- (k) building up of professional self-confidence and commitment
- (l) development of skills for self-appraisal of teaching.

Different categories of in-service programmes

In-service programmes can be classified into different categories according to the place, where the programme is conducted, duration, techniques involved, etc.

- (a) Face to face contact programmes. Distance Programmes.
- (b) Holiday/summer courses, morning/evening courses, day release classes, weekend courses, on the spot training.
- (c) Secondment, Sabatical term, Study leave, duty leave, etc.
- (d) Job embeded, job related, Credential oriented, Professional organisation related, Self-directed.

- (e) Transnational, school renewal, Context specific role improvement, Personal growth, Continuing formal education, Professional development and Career Progression.
- (f) In-school and Out-school programmes.
- (g) Meetings of teachers, teacher and school head, a few schools situated in cluster/centre, teachers and visiting inspectors or supervisors.
- (h) Workshops, Seminars, Conferences, Tele-conferences, Brain storming sessions, Buzz sessions, Case studies, Demonstrations, Lectures, Projects, Encounter, group-meetings, Symposia, Syndicates Colloquium, Assignments, Practical, Forum, Study visits, Role Play, T-group, Action research, Psychodrama, Panel, Team teaching, Field studies, Co-operative learning, etc.

Incentives for motivation of participants

In-service education and training of teachers is not a compulsory activity. The teachers in democratic countries are free to attend such programmes or not. In such cases they should be properly motivated. Various incentives are provided for the purpose. Some of these incentives are:

- (a) Travelling allowances to attend such programmes conducted in out-school situations
- (b) Daily allowances
- (c) Certificates/diplomas for successful completion of in-service course
- (d) promotional benefit
- (e) Increments/increase in salary/special pay provision
- (f) License to continue as a teacher or to act as head teacher/school inspector/supervisor
- (g) prizes

Barriers to motivation

There are many barriers to motivation of participants for joining in-service education and training programmes. Some of these barriers are as follows:

- (a) Lack of interest to increase one's knowledge and skill;
- (b) Mismatch between the expectations of the organisers of the programmes and expectations of the participants
- (c) Rigid and stereotyped programmes
- (d) Personal difficulties such as engagement in other occupations, illness of self and family members, remoteness of place of training, etc
- (e) Poor quality of resources persons
- (f) Poor quality of institutional materials due to inadequate preparation and poor financial resources, etc
- (g) Lack of previous knowledge of the participants about the content of the programme
- (h) Lack of provision for feedback from participants for formative evaluation of programmes
- (i) Lack of provision for survey of expertise and felt needs of would be participants for preparation of outlines of the in-service programmes

Provisions of In-service Education programmes

Various agencies provide in-service education programmes. These are as follows:

- (a) Teacher training institutions
- (b) Government education departments
- (c) private employers
- (d) schools
- (e) School Examination Boards
- (f) Inspecting/supervising officers

(g) professional associations

(h) Teachers' Centres

Criteria for efficient programmes

There are many criteria that affect the effectiveness of in-service programmes. Some of these criteria are as follows:

(a) Motivation of participants

(b) Availability of competent teacher trainers/resources persons;

(c) Availability of adequate financial resources

(d) Availability of adequate time for preparation

(e) Availability of proper audio-visual aids;

(f) Availability of adequate administrative and supervisory support

(g) Production and distribution of institutional materials of good quality

Evaluation of in-service programmes

Evaluation is of two types-formative and summative. Formative evaluation provides feedback to the programmes. Basing on the findings of this type evaluation, the organisers undertake mid-course correction. The summative evaluation is conducted at the end of the programme to find out the extent to which the objectives of the programme were attained. The summative evaluation is generally criterion reference evaluation. This evaluation is undertaken with certain criteria in view. Eklund pointed out the need for participatory evaluation. Participatory evaluation implies that the participants take part in the process of designing evaluation tools and in assessment of the responses to the tools. Various types of tools are used for evaluation. These are (a) observation and recording sheets/equipments, (b) rating scales, (c) informal discussion, (d) questionnaires, etc. pre-test and post-test designs are generally used to find out the impact of the in-service programmes. The participants are given a test/questionnaire to answer at the

beginning of the programme and the same test/questionnaire at the end of the programme. This may give certain evidence about change in level of content knowledge, level of educational technology skill knowledge and attitude etc. The summative evaluation conducted at the end of the programme may help in finding out the weaknesses of the programmes and in determining the nature and content of the follow up programmes for the participants. Hence evaluation of the programme is a must for successful follow up programmes.

Useful strategies for planning in-service programmes

Some useful strategies that may be considered for planning of in-service programmes are as follows.

- (a) Survey of age, qualification, type and length of experience of would be participants;
- (b) Assessment of felt in-service needs of would be participants;
- (c) Involvement of participants in the planning and evaluation of the programmes;
- (d) Involvement of supervisors and administration in planning, execution and evaluation of the programme;
- (e) Supply of written instructional materials to participants at least a few days before the starting of the programme;
- (f) provision of activity based programmes, modelling and simulation and real practice;
- (g) provision of formative evaluation;
- (h) provision of utilisation of experience of participants;
- (i) Good financial support
- (j) Supply of data about the participants-age, qualification, experience, etc, to resources persons;
- (k) Availability of adequate amount of time for preparation of instructional materials, resources persons, etc.

- (l) Preparation of pre-programme and post-programme questionnaires, etc
- (m) orientation of resources persons before the programme;
- (n) School based programmes may be better useful;
- (o) Formation of homogenous groups based on nature of the job, qualification, types of facilities available in schools, etc.

Role of pre-service teacher training institutions

Pre-service teacher training institutions should play definite role in in-service education and training of their products. Various Commissions and Committees have voiced such need;

"The teacher training institution should accept its responsibility for assisting in the in-service stage of teacher training. among the activities which the training college should provide or in which it should collaborate are (a) refresher courses, (b) short intensive courses in special subjects, (c) practical training in-workshop, (d) seminars and professional conferences. It should also allow its staff where possible to serve as consultants to a school or a group of schools conducting some programme or improvement."

"This can be done only if, over a period of 10-15 years, every training institution-pre-primary, primary and secondary-is staffed and equipped to take up extension work, institutes an advisory service for teachers and organises in-serving training programmes such as refresher courses, seminars, workshops and summer institutes. Every training institution should work on a 12 month basis with proportionate provision for additional staff and facilities."

"Teacher Education institutions should extend their functions to cover not only the programme of pre-service education, but also to contribute substantially towards the organisation of continuing education."

The in-service programmes can be well arranged by pre-service teacher training institutions. At the time of pre-service training, the teachers might have received certain ideas to be put in into practice in school situations. They can provide feedback to training institution.

One of the most rewarding experiences of life is to see something commonplace in a new light an find in it unsuspected depths of meaning. The young man suddenly catches a glimpse of the girl next door and looks at her with quickened interest. Something seems to have happened to her since she was 11-and the consequences may prove highly interesting. In scholarship, too, the pattern is familiar. Everybody has always known that some people are brighter than others, but Binet actually measured intelligence-or at any rate, he measured something. The fall of an apple, the salivation of a dog, the growth of a mold, the existence of a night-mare; just see what has been made of them. And all the complicities of the computer are based on the familiar response of "yes" or "no", though the computer's answer is qualitatively different from that of the girl next door.

Something like this is happening to the in-service education of the professional. In both ideal and practice, it has been around for a long time. William McGlothlin, in his comparative study of architecture, business administration, engineering, law, medicine, nursing, psychology, social work, teacher education, and veterinary medicine, found they all clearly recognized in their codes of ethics or elsewhere that education is a lifelong obligation. This end gives rise to familiar means, the incidental learning which comes from practice; informal association; reading; attending conference; workshops, conventions, short courses, and other gatherings; and sharing in the work of professional associations.

Yet, in professions after profession, this old idea is suddenly being seen in a new light. Most professionals have from thirty to fifty years to perform their service and to occupy

their distinctive roles. Can they do so efficiently and honorably on the basis of one to ten years of pre-service education, a scanning of journals pages, an occasional three days at a university centre for continuing education, and an annual trip to preservation Hall or Fisherman's Wharf? The professional school is said to be like Janus, looking backward to the preparatory training of its students and forward to their continuing education; but is not the latter pair of eyes myopic and in need of strong correction? Does the professional association take care of its other functions admirably but treat the learning of its members gingerly and with no coherent plan?

These questions have stimulated virtually every profession to have a strong concern with continuing education. To sense the immediacy of this purpose, you must hear the authentic voices of those who express it. Here are three.

In medicine: The continuing education of physicians is one of the most important problems facing medical education today.

In the ministry: Among the facts of life of this generation of Christians is the emergence of the ministry as a distressed profession. One of the most creative responses to this distress is to be found in the rapid, almost spontaneous growth of "continuing education" for the ministry.

In social work: We are going to have to change our thinking to view the master's program in social work not as the substance of a professional education, but as a catapult that gives energy and direction to an intellectual trajectory that will carry the learner hundreds of times farther than the two years.

Every professions, it would seem, must be concerned with the education which occurs during the total life-span of its members; pre-service training is only the first stage of this process. The lengthened line of learning covers fifty years, not just one to ten. In developing this idea, each profession has

gone on its way alone, winning its victories, making its mistakes, and maturing its own conceptions. To look at these efforts comparatively, however, is to see that the needs, the general objectives, the specific goals, and the methods used all have a marked resemblance. My aim here is to present a synthesis of the key ideas that the various professions have learned about the continuing education of their members.

The root cause of the modern preoccupation with continuing education is that otherwise the very idea of professionalism cannot survive.

A profession is a high calling based on abstract and theoretical knowledge, a key element in modern society, as important today as the craft guilds were in the middle ages. Of the making of criteria for professions there is no end. Let us simply remember the one developed a half century ago by Abraham Flexner.

Professions involve essentially intellectual operations with large individual responsibility; they derive their raw material from science and learning; this material they work up to a practical and definite end; they possess an educationally communicable technique; they tend to self-organization; they are becoming increasingly altruistic in motivation.

This definition and its modern counterparts establish a shining symbol. In this century, occupation after occupation has exerted gargantuan efforts to establish those standards which would entitle it to call itself a profession. In this battle, the education of the practitioner has been substantially raised, largely by elevating the stature of the professional schools. Most of them used to be shockingly bad but; following Flexner's own example with medical schools, generations of scholars have fought against great obstacles to embody the highest principles of professionalism.

Now professions are in peril both by invasion from without and by decay from within. Seemingly almost every

occupation wants the glory which goes with the name. Every craftsman and technician, however, practical and specific, says he is a professional. At the same time, some members of even the most exalted professions have become intellectual drop-outs or have lost that sense of deep social mission which is the foundation of their collective dignity and honour. However shinning the symbol may be in the professional school, in practice it has grown increasingly tarnished. Life is not really the way the the professors say it is. Howard Becker believes that matters have gone so far that the symbol itself must be changed. Substantial improvement cannot be brought about merely by spending more money and time on pre-service training or by a better screening of candidates. Let us instead, he suggests, set up newer, lower, and more realistic standards.

The other alternative is to raise the level of practice, It is this alternative which gives the deepest force to continuing education. The standards enshrined on the campus were established by arduous and dedicated effort. Now the major battle for improvement has moved elsewhere; to the minds of the active practitioners. While continuing education will not cure all the problems of the professions, without it not cure is possible. The task for this generation is to work, amid all the distractions and complexities of practice, to aid the individual, either alone or in his natural work groups, constantly to refine his sensitivities, to enlarge his conceptions, and to increase his capacity to discharge the responsibilities his work requires as that work is seen in the larger contexts of his own personality and the society of which he is a part.

Lifelong learning cannot be achieved simply by increasing pages of print or the frequency of meetings. A broad objectives must be analysed into specific goals and the means to reach them must be perfected and adopted. precisely this process is now occurring in continuing professional education. Out of the fresh but vast experiences of the several professions a basic structure of concerns is emerging.

Let us begin with the young professional as, after years of tutelage, he starts forth upon his lifework. He knows more facts than he has ever known before, he was a more up-to-date knowledge of recent developments than all but the very top leaders in his chosen field of work, and he sees the world as his pearl-filled oyster.

At this moment, when everything seems about to begin, four events which are crucial to his later continuing education have already occurred.

(I) He was chosen. His profession, acting in terms of its own code of ethics which makes lifelong learning mandatory, has certified him as having an inquiring mind. If it has made a mistake, then nothing else it does can fully remedy its basic error. For ultimately every professional must accept the responsibility for knowing and for serving, for facing the daily task of applying his specialized knowledge to the particular cases which he encounters, and for guiding and shaping his own career. If his mind is closed, external forces may push him to and fro but they will not really influence him.

Most people speak more confidently about inquiring minds than I do, for I have studied the subject for thirty years. One possible hypothesis which I might haltingly put forward, however, is that while the persistent desire to learn may be created or re-created at any time during adulthood, ordinarily it is established by the age of 20. professional schools now say that they seek intelligent, stable, well-prepared, and deeply committed young people. An estimate as to the possession of an inquiring mind can probably be made about as well as an estimate of any of these other desired characteristics. Upon this estimates all further at continuing education crucially depend.

The beginning professional has taken a sequence of course far too brief to include all he needs to know. Every professional school today is trying to separate essential from unessential knowledge so that its students can master basic

knowledge but not get lost in the vastness of accumulated content. In law schools, for examples, as Paul Freund has pointed out, "there is an intensified effort to explore fields of law by sinking shafts rather than covering the ground".

One principle which can help the beleaguered faculty is this; do not include any subject in the pre-service curriculum which can be learned better later. Many professional schools are well on the way to learning this lesson. Teachers' colleges used to crowd into the four-year undergraduate curriculum all the course in supervision and administration which the student might possibly need in the course of a fifty-year career. Today young men and women are educated to be teachers; if they subsequently wish to become supervisors or administrators, they return to the university to secure the specialized education which they then require, a body of learning which now has a depth of meaning not possible earlier. The same trend is occurring in engineering. The law schools provide relatively little direct preparation for service, expecting that it will be learned later.

One cannot, of course, simply strike content from the pre-service curriculum without making sure of its subsequent provision. If continuing education is to be successful, professional school faculties must realize that in addition to the knowledge essential for entry into a profession, there are deeper understandings which can be acquired only by mature and experienced people. The university faculty members or someone else must teach those understandings.

(3) The beginning professional has been taught things that are not true and others that will be discarded as meaningless. Even though the faculty members are marvellously up to date and have not been caught in the eddies of a cultural lag, knowledge moves on so rapidly that what is taught to the student may be obsolete or wrong by the time he is graduated. He suspects that to the very last class he has been taught error;

so does the faculty; but neither is sure exactly where the error lies.

(4) Much of the attitude of the beginning professional toward continuing education and his ability to pursue it has already been set at the time he enters services. A major frontier of continuing education is in the undergraduate and graduate classroom. The chief way to convey the desired attitude must always be through excellence of teaching; nothing else is so certain to create or stimulate interest in a subject. But a faculty must also give direct instruction in the values and techniques of continuing education; the prospective professional should learn what sources of information to consult and how to evaluate them. It should be made clear to him that his road to success will always be under construction. Very important, too, is the personal example provided by the faculty members. When professors are continuing learners, that fact is made graphically evident to their students; to the lesson of precept is added the very powerful lesson of example. All such efforts should express a spirit of inquiry underlying the approach to teaching throughout the school. Facts must be taught, but always within the context of a constant and continuous exploration of the unknown. If you teach a person what to learn, you are preparing him for the past. If you teach him how to learn, you are preparing him for the future.

When the young professional moves into the field, the prime responsibility for his learning passes from the professional school to him and to the associations to which he belongs. The very first thing he may discover is something he rather suspected all along; his professors did not completely prepare him for the real affairs of life. The voice of the aggrieved alumnus is always loud in the land and, no matter what the profession, the burden of complaint is the same. In the first five years after graduation, alumni say that they should have been taught more practical techniques. In the next five years, they say they should have been given more basic theory.

In the tenth to fifteenth years, they inform the faculty that they should have been taught more about administration or about their relations with their co-workers and subordinates. In the subsequent five years, they condemn the failure of their professors to put the profession in its larger historical, social, and economic contexts. After the twentieth year, they insist that they should have been given a broader orientation to all knowledge, scientific and humane. Sometime after that, they stop giving advice; the university has deteriorated so badly since they left that it is beyond hope.

And so, grumbling every step of the way, the alumnus takes up the burden of his further learning. In this process, he faces some needs which are felt by everyone and others which may be special to him. Let us look at a few of each.

The practicing professional needs to keep with the new knowledge related to his profession. Here is the major present thrust in continuing education. Every thoughtful person must be impressed by the widening gap between available knowledge and its full utilization in practice. Just think of some of the major professional developments of the past ten years. The new mathematics made its appearance-and so did programmed instruction. Major new drugs appeared and then were rendered obsolete by other major new drugs. The techniques of surgery and the care of patients were revolutionized. Man was put into orbit and rockers landed on the moon. Mies van de Rohe prevailed; less became more and our cities are dominated by rectangular blocks of glass or masonry. New schools of art have arisen from the comicbook, the optical illusion and the junk-yard. The transistor, the laser, the maser, the jet airliner, the electron microscope, and the communication satellite are commonplace. And God died.

The practicing professional needs to establish his mastery of the new conceptions of his own professions. In the last quarter-century, several professions have completely revolutionized their structure and self-images. For example, we

used to know pretty well what a nurse was and what she did; and she did everything, even the most menial tasks, though she had been educated to perform highly skilled techniques. Today nursing has been split into three categories; the professional, the technical, and the assisting. Every practicing nurse must adjust herself to this new conception; and as training plans are worked out, nursing must provide three programmes of continuing education, not one.

Even where the structure of the profession has not changed, basic theories underlying practice have often been altered drastically. A recent survey of dentistry points out that

Twenty-five or thirty years ago dental practice was limited to relieving pain and treating lesions of the teeth, the gums, and other tissues of the mouth. Today it is concerned with the comprehensive management of oral, facial, and speech defects and with the oral structures and tissues as they relate to the total health of the individual.

The leaders of a profession are usually aware of such basic changes of conceptual framework, but the new understanding must be conveyed to all members of the profession who did not acquire it in youth.

The practicing professional needs to continue his study of the basic disciplines which support his profession. Every profession is a field of application based on deeper arts and sciences. Teaching depends upon psychology and sociology, the health professions depend upon anatomy, physiology, and biochemistry, and engineering depends upon mathematics and physics. If the professional simply studies new developments in his field of application, he is turned into a technician, performing operations whose basic meaning he does not understand. To retain his breath of vision, he must remain aware of what is developing in the basic arts and sciences which support his practice. The basic disciplines can also be fruitfully used to study the professions, thereby giving insight

into needs for continuing education. Samuel Blizzard, for example, used sociological theory to analyse the six major roles of Protestant clergymen which were; pastor caring for the congregation, preacher, teacher, priest or liturgist, organizer of the church's work, and administrator of its activities. When Blizzard then asked his subjects to rank these roles in terms of the amount of time they took, he found that the order was drastically changes; the clergymen were spending the major part of their time at tasks they thought least important, least enjoyable, and in which they felt least effective. Blizzard also concluded that "no matter how different ministers' ideas of what is important in the ministry, all wind up doing substantially the same thing". Blizzard's study sent a shock wave through the Protestant seminaries, and many a minister's in-service education has also been influenced by it.

The practicing professional needs to grow as a person as well as professional. The mind should never be fully engaged in the practice of a lifework, however, exalted, but needs to withdraw from that practice occasionally to be stimulated by contemplating theory or seeking understanding and skill in different aspects of life. Otherwise, as Whitehead pointed out, "The remainder of life is treated superficially, with the imperfect categories of thought derived from one profession". I know what he meant; I once went to the movies with an otolaryngologist who spent the entire time trying to decide whether the star-one of the most hauntingly beautiful women in the world-had a deviated septum.

Many professional school faculty members do not understand the need for liberal study, almost all of them express ardent support for broader fields of knowledge, but those fields usually turn out to be the disciplines supporting the professions. Professors of agriculture are all in favour of biology and professors of journalism are strong for the social science.

A complete absorption with the task of learning one's lifework may be essential in the professional school but it is harmful later. A physician may study music, lawyer may paint, an architect may read poetry, a dentist may lead great books discussion groups, and an industrialist may photograph hummingbirds. These activities sometimes bring unexpected rewards in professional life- and not just as ways of meeting new clients. But the insights and knowledge to be gained from such studies can be most fully rewarding only if they are pursued for their own sake. We shun the thought of medical music, legal painting, or structural poetry, though such aberrations are possible. A dermatologist of my acquaintance had a passion for finding Renaissance portraits which showed unhealthy skin conditions. Unfortunately he also had a passion for showing them to his friends. The focus for effort of general education should be different from that of professional education and only a very narrow person should be willing to devote himself wholly to the latter. A profession should be more than just a way of earning a living but it should not be a way of life.

The practicing professional needs to keep both a fresh viewpoint and a firm grip on detail, looking for better ideas and procedures but never abandoning essential conceptions or routines. The repetitiveness of practice sometimes leads to staleness, boredom, dullness, the acceptance of short-cuts, and routinization of thought. This deadly effect was recently expressed in a sentence by a young novelist who described a hospital chaplain by saying that "he was just out of seminary and performed last rites without running the words together".

Studies of various groups of professional show that many of them, in one way or another, run their words together. Some physicians, for example, do not keep adequate records on their patients, do not perform all of the accepted medical routines, and do not examine the results of laboratory tests closely enough to note abnormal findings.

The maintenance of a clear-eyed awareness of the important dimensions of his practice is ultimately the responsibility of the professional himself. He must try to learn from each new situation, thereby viewing it creatively. If he works in an institutions, such as a school, a library, or a social agency, he must collaborative actively with other professionals who are trying to maintain the life and vitality of their thought. He must join and participate in those societies and associations which give him new ways to view his established practice. He must remove himself from that practice from time to time for intensive periods of study, thereby not merely acquiring new knowledge but also gaining a broader perspective so that when he goes back into service again he views matters in a newlight. He must, in short, use every means of continuing education available so that his work retains the lucidity and freshness of its early years.

The practicing professional needs to retain his power to learn. The skills of mastering knowledge are like other skills; they atrophy from disuse and can later be regained only with difficulty. One can only sympathize with the gentleman who was heard to remark: "I can see pretty well with my spectacles, and hear pretty well with my hearing aid, and eat pretty well with my new teeth, and I'm getting used to wearing a toupee and walking with a cane but I do miss my mind".

These, then, are some broad general needs for continuing education. Other special needs are felt by some professionals but not by others. Here are a few examples. Some people leave a profession for a number of years and then wish to re-enter it. Some people decide in mind-career to change their fields of specialized application. And some people go from one place to practice in another. All such changes as these require special training.

One special need is fairly common. The practicing professional who moves to new or broader responsibilities requires special education to carry them out. Most often, this

advancement is to an administrative post; anybody who has made the transition knows how different the skills of co-ordinating the work of other people are from the skills required in the work itself. These new skills must be learned and some of that learning needs to be systematic. Thus Harvard has a special course for new university presidents and the American Management Association has one for the presidents of businesses. But the upwards direction in a career line is not always to administration. A lawyer, for example, may become a judge-and the American bar is now giving a great deal of attention to the in-service education of judges.

The awareness of these needs, suddenly flowering in almost every profession, has created countless new approaches to continuing education, whose variety can only be suggested. To be old familiar sponsors and techniques, interesting new ideas are being added.

Ultimately the individual is himself primarily responsible for his own education and most of his learning must be self-directed. Books and other printed materials are, have been, and will be the central resources for education. Here the change has been essentially quantitative; the torrential spate of new material is a blessing in disguise, but the disguise sometimes seems perfect.

Most of the newer thought and the major new financial resources in educational technology are concerned with the self-education of the individual. The programmed instructional book, the teaching machine, the packets of integrated learning materials, the self-administered co-ordinated course; these examples are now familiar. Others may be less so. A physician may subscribe for a weekly tape-recorded digest of new medical developments and, if he wishes, he may play the tape in his car. Or he may call a number on his telephone and hear a similar recorded digest. Great effort is now being devoted to computer-assisted instruction, with programmes largely built on the diagnosis and treatment of cases. A physician and I recently

sat down at one of the new electronic consoles and worked our way through a case. A starry-eyed Stanford professor has recently said that the computer will provide an Aristotle for every learner, but my friend and I concluded that we had been students of an idiot. The technician in charge said we were wrong. She said we had been students of a two-year-old.

The small voluntary group is a crucially important extension of the principle of self-instruction. The American Psychological Association has for some years been studying the ways by which its members receive their information. A major role in this process is apparently "played by informal, unplanned, person-to-person communication in the experiences of scientific investigators, often in ways that affect their work quite vitally". This person-to-person process is greatly aided by the existence of what have come to be called "invisible colleges", loosely knit groups of people who meet together, correspond with one another, read papers to each other, circulate reprints, and, in a general spirit of mixed collaboration and competition, keep one another on their toes. These groups exert an extraordinary importance, not only on their own participants, but also on other alert people who aspire to membership.

The employing institution is the focus for an increasing amount of continuing education. Some professionals, such as lawyers, physicians, dentists, or architects, tend to be solitary in the execution of their duties, while other professionals tend to be institutionalized. The teacher, the nurse, the industrial manager, and the social worker have individual professional integrates, but they usually work collectively on the common task of serving the student, the patient, the customer or the client.

In these latter professions the institutions has a central responsibility for the education of its staff members. The in-service education of teachers is largely based on the idea that the school and the school system help teachers to be responsive

to new developments. The hospital is another such centre; all the health professions can work there together on the care of the patient, thereby focusing their collective efforts at continuing education. In social work pre-service students do fieldwork in the social service agencies. To be sure that it is well-supervised, the schools of social work appoint part-time field instructors. Such people bridge campus and field; the individuals concerned must keep up to date or lose their cherished positions as faculty members; and yet their central base is in employing institutions, where they serve as a constant stimulus for in-service staff growth.

The university professional schools have recently given serious thought to their distinctive roles in continuing education. Their chief responsibility is to prepare the pre-service student for his later learning, but what should they do directly for those who have become practitioners? Most professional school faculties agree that they should focus on the hard tasks-the kind of education which is basic, fundamental, and ordinarily presented in a series of sessions or a period of residence. The professional school and its faculty members have the knowledge and the prestige to attract the busy professional away from his work or his play to learn that which is difficult-and, in most professions, few others have that knowledge and that prestige.

In this task, the professional school faculty needs all the help it can get from its colleagues on the campus. It needs the content provided in the basic disciplines and the liberal arts. It needs the planning and administrative skills of the extension division. And it needs the aura of respect and worth which only the whole university itself can offer. professional schools which go it alone tend to hold their students rigidly within the confines of the professions, thus leading to greater narrowness, or they fail to attract those practitioners whose interests have broadened beyond the immediate requirements of their careers. Such schools have difficulty establishing McGeroge Bundy's

principle that "the university, properly construed, is not merely a place of full-time effort by young students and old professors-it is also a home, for hours, or days, or weeks at a time, of all highly civilized men".

The professional association crowns all other efforts at continuing education and bears the chief collective responsibility for it. A manifest function of every professional association is the continuing education of its membership; indeed, scarcely any other function has a larger tradition than this one. It is, moreover, undertaken not merely by a few people working at a separate task but by the whole body of people engaged in the affairs of the association.

Under these circumstances, it is a striking fact that in recent years association after association has taken a fresh look at continuing education and has, as a result, put forward a strong new thrust of effort. The work of the American Psychological Association has been mentioned. Another massive venture is being undertaken, with Kellogg Foundation funds, by the American Hospital Association. And the American Medical Association has for some time been engaged in a deep subterranean struggle on the subject of continuing education, whose violence is not apparent in the bland pronouncements which occasionally appear.

To mention these five centres of influence-the individual, the informal groups, the employing institutions, the university, and the professional association-is to omit other vital instruments of continuing education such as governmental bureaux, independent publishers of professional books and journals, and specialized libraries. We simply cannot take time today to talk about them all. We must ignore, too, those potent carriers of innovation, the salesmen of new products, equipments, and services, with their richly elaborate brochures and their warmly hospitable natures.

And many baffling and complex methodological problems

remain. How can the members of various related professions work together most effectively? How can earning reach not merely the leadership of a profession but also its less advanced members?-like it or not, every practitioner must be his brother's keeper. How do programmes move beyond the task of merely keeping professionals informed to the much harder task of insuring that that information will affect their practice?

The hardest questions of all will probably always confront us. How can the ethical foundations of a professions be strengthened so that the glory of its name may be preserved? What is the ultimate value at which continuing education aims?

No easy method can be found to insure the maintenance of moral and intellectual standards amid the stresses and temptations of practice. As Sancho Panza remarked "Each of us is as God made him, aye, and often worse", We shall simply have to hope that by precept and practice, by the positive force of education and the negative force of self-regulation, by open and free discussion and a full opportunity to scrutinize the principles which govern practice, each profession can elevate its dignity and maintain its integrity. The pre-service educational programme, after long effort, achieved intellectual strength and ethical force. past success at one level may give us hope for future success at another.

The ultimate aim of every advanced, subtle, and mature conception of continuing education is to convey a complex attitude made up of a readiness to use the best ideas and techniques of the moment but also to expect that they will be modified or replaced. The new machine will soon be antiquated, the new drug will be outmoded, the new principle will yield to a more basic one, and the revolutionary approach will become familiar and then old-fashioned. We hear much about the computer and we should; but it is relevant to ask "After the computer, what?" Our fixed communication satellites are not yet all in place, much less working properly and perhaps we shall have to convert them to laser reflects; but,

what about post-satellite communications? In advanced technology, such as that needed in the exploration of space, it is necessary to project several future stages of advance, and some people lay the foundations for a later stage before the earlier stages are completed. All of us must contemplate constant change and sometimes the major lesson of continuing education is to expect that the unexpected will occur.

As Ezra Cornell said at the opening of his university, "There is not a single thing finished".

It may help to begin with two particular current trends in professional education in this country. These are the tendency to raise the educational entry requirements and the welcome move towards the closer integration of similar professional groups.

Most of the major professional bodies have responded to the postwar improvements in educational opportunities by raising their entry standards. Those who used to demand passes at A-level now talk in terms of a "graduate profession", and those who were content with the O-level boy or girl from the fifth form of the grammar school now realize that they must insist on A-level passes if they are to recruit his contemporary counterpart. In planning further education and training for professional men and women it is important to think ahead and to think therefore in terms of graduates or those who are of a similar educational calibre. This means that one can assume a high level of general education and this ought to increase ability to benefit from such things as management training. It should also mean that professional people who have had a university education are more aware of the need for such training and bring a broader outlook to it. For example, the accountant or lawyer who has had three years at a university and has followed this by a shorter period of professional training ought to be a different person from his predecessor who came up the "hard way" straight from school through a long and often tedious period of articles, supplemented only by

part-time study by correspondence course or at night school. On qualifying, the main feeling of the latter was probably one of relief and exhaustion. Who could blame him if he felt he had at last reached his coveted professional status and should be expected to bear with no further training and education. We can reasonably hope that the graduate professions will contain within their ranks people of more vitality and flexibility, who are more likely to see their professional education as a next stage to train them to do their immediate job and not as the end of the road. To quote Professor Houle again, more professional people should have been taught "how to learn" and professional training should become less of an endurance test based on the acquisition of facts which become rapidly obsolete.

The increased recruitment of graduates may also encourage the second tendency towards integration. Professional people themselves seem at last to be realizing the disadvantages of a proliferation of professional groups and the advantages of sensible groupings. In our modern society few professional people can exercise their skills in isolation. many of them have to work as members of a team, sometimes with other professional people, but sometimes with those trained in new skills which have not yet been accorded professional status. Their own personal brilliance is of little value unless it can be fitted in with the contributions of others. The shared experiences of a university training may help to bring about a common approach and make it easier to bring similar groups together. There is good evidence that this is already happening in such fields as engineering, accountancy, and social work.

Against this background, what are the main issues for discussion in connection with continued professional education over the next ten years or so? It is certainly helpful to divide such education into two broad groups; firstly, post-professional education and training designed to keep the individual's professional knowledge and skills up to date; secondly, training

which may have little or not link with the profession as such, and which may cut across a wide variety of professional groups, but which is designed to fit the individuals for his present or possible future place in the organisation which employs him.

The first group is well established and most professions freely recognize the need for refresher and similar courses. If professional education itself becomes broader and less specialized, this need will grow. It will no longer be limited to refresher courses but in some cases will involve an element of retaining. For example, some of us hope that the general pattern of social work training will increasingly become a basic course followed by training in a particular specialism, like the needs of the aged, the handicapped, the mentally sick, and so on. If this happens, then many individual social workers will need retraining as they move from one branch of the social services to another. In all professions, retraining may also be necessary because of technological change. For example, many surveyors and engineers who qualified twenty years ago must find that their basic professional course is now of only limited value in dealing with modern building techniques. This, therefore, is a continuing need and one in which the profession itself will not only want to play a major part, but should be encouraged to do so. On the other hand, the need will not be met if it is left simply to professional institutes, as has often been the case in the past. The bulk of the cost and some of the organization required will no doubt be met in the future by employers as a result of the Industrial Training Act. This expansion will inevitably make growing demands on the educational system, and the universities, colleges of further education, and other institutes should be prepared to expand their facilities for post professional education of this sort in the same way as many of them are increasing their contribution to basic professional education. This will require considerable flexibility and a willingness to work closely with the professional institutes concerned. Because many professional

people are self-employed and at present fall outside the Industrial Training Act, and because of the strength of professional loyalties, it may even become desirable for the professional bodies themselves to exercise some degree of compulsion in this aspect of post-professional training. Should they not re-examine their members at, say, ten year intervals? In many professions, such as engineering and accountancy, the responsibility for pre-entry education and qualifications is passing more and more to the universities and similar institutions. The role of the professional body as an external examining agency is declining. Cannot the energy so released be transferred to the profitable task of ensuring adequate levels of performance after qualifying?

In the second group, training for management is perhaps the most important and best examples. In many sections of industry, commerce, and the public services, men and women who received a through professional education and training in their twenties now seek and obtain promotion which imposes on them a range of managerial responsibilities for which they have received little or no formal training. My personal concerns is with the training of staff for local authorities, and local government faces this problem to an acute degree. The senior posts in all local authority departments tend to be held by those with a professional qualification appropriate to the work of the department. For example, the health department is run by a doctor; the education department by a qualified surveyor, and so on. Even the office of the clerk of the local authority, whose major concern is with administration, is usually filled by a qualified solicitor who has moved, by experience, away from the law into administration. The local authorities and their senior officers now increasingly appreciate the management content of work at this level and are making a serious attempt to analyses, and then provide for, beginning of 1967, a major experiment began whereby the University of Birmingham, in close co-operation with local government, is providing a series of ten-week courses specifically designed for those professional

men and women in their 30 s and early 40 s who are most likely to be the chief and deputy chief officers of the future. The course emphasizes the broad social, political, economic, and technological forces at work in our society which must affect the present and future role of local government, and this provides the background for identifying the main problems which face local authorities, and for applying-where relevant-the theories and techniques which have been evolved in the science of management and in its practice in industry and the other public services. In all this, the methods include direct participation by the course members in discussion, case studies, and project work. Finally, every effort is made to see that each course represents a wide range of authorities and departments. since one of the main objects is to encourage officers with a specialized professional background to approach their problems as members of a team which includes their colleagues from other related disciplines.

Training of this sort adds an extra dimension to professional education. It must take account of the industry or occupation in which the professional man or woman is currently employed. Apart from those who are self-employed it seems inevitable that the leas should be taken by the industry itself. And in this connection, I fully share professor Houle's view that these needs, which arise some time after qualifying, should not be mert by expandinf and further onverloading courses of basic professional education. It is in this field that the industrial training boards have a major contribution to make in defining the strategy and providing an incentive through their grant system. Few of them have yet tackled the problem of management training, but a number are known to be bracing themselves to do so. To be of value, management training must be planned as part of an overall training structure ranging from training for supervision through the various levels of management responsibility. Formal management training must also be related to experience and the courses attended by any

one individual must make sense in terms of his own personal career, past and potential. For these reasons, management training must be geared largely to the total training pattern of a particular industry and the role of the professional bodies would seem to be fairly limited; but their advice and co-operation remain imperative. The contribution of the educational system will clearly be varied. Some aspects of management training will no doubt be met by basic courses provided by universities and colleges of further education. On the other hand, other parts will be provided by the industry itself. There should also be a fruitful third course, "tailor-made" facilities resulting from the joint efforts of industry and a particular university or college. The Birmingham experiment for local government is a good example of this, and there are others. The questions for discussion seem to revolve largely around the appropriate roles of industry and the educational system, at all its levels, the outstanding and little discussed problem of defining and meeting the needs of those considerable number of professional people who will remain self-employed, and the best way of breaking down professional exclusiveness and recognising the complementary roles of technicians and others in the total efforts.

By its very nature, professional education and training has a limiting effect; it concentrates on the efficient performance of a given role in the total labour forces. It also emphasizes that certain activities are "professional" whereas others have not yet achieved this status. At its best, this concept of professionalism means quality and a guarantee of standards. At its worst, it means a restricted entry, practice based on out-of-date training and, finally a sense of superiority which undervalues the essential contribution of others-the "non-professionals". Post-professional education can, and should, be a valuable force in emphasizing the good aspects and minimizing the possible defects.

The quality of education depends on the quality of teachers. The studies on teacher effectiveness have found that quality of teacher training programmes plays an effective role in building up effective teachers. The quality of teacher training depends upon the quality of teacher educators. Hence education and training of teacher educators play crucial role in the development of a nation in general and development of education in particular. For this reason, now-a-days one finds increased attention given on this issue. The importance of in-service education of teacher educators has been reported in many international seminars and conferences.

"When social function of education is changing and the teacher is assuming a new role, teacher educators also need new orientations. In all countries, until recently, the notion prevailed that a professional trained person with a good degree in education was qualified to train teachers. This notion is fast giving way to the realisation that there is a need for special education of teachers educators. Teacher educators need orientation to understand the social change that has set in, the qualities and skills needed by teachers to effectively play their new role and the recent developments in educational psychology, sociology of education and other disciplines. A narrow specialist in a field of pedagogy has to broaden horizon and understand his new functions. A rich programme of in-service education must be provided so that the teacher educator begins to relate teacher education to problems of national development".

"For limited resources to be used to the best effect, training and guidance are necessary and it appears indisputable that all teacher educators should be prepared for their work and given ongoing support throughout their careers. In-service courses can help to revitalize the flagging teacher educator, especially if they are designed to bring together different types of teacher educators from institutions, inspectorial, advisory and administrative duties, something is to be gained, too, from periodic consultations among educators working in different types of education and at different levels. In-service provision

may take the form of workshops, seminars, conferences, study leaves or vocation courses and might be reinforced by the use of the media and correspondence techniques, as well as much facilities as may be made available by professional associations.

The in-service education is specially necessary when the nations do not have special training programme for pre-service preparation of teacher educators. The above document mentions the practice in Commonwealth countries in the following words.

"Most teacher educators acquire any specialist skill that they acquire incidentally, as they practise their profession. In common with all educational practitioner above the primary level, professional training for teacher educators has been regarded as unnecessary until quite recently. The assumption has been that the competent practitioner will necessarily be a competent teacher of these skills which he himself possesses"

Finding of a few studies on teacher educations

There have been a number of studies on the qualification and experience of teacher educators working in teacher training institutions. Some of the findings are given below. King and Ellis their special field and in preparation for college teaching. They failed to related effectively with colleague and students. This was a situation in U.S. A about one and a half decade ago. Antonie, suggested that each major University centre to have a publishing house, a radio and TV station, socio-cultural activities centre, and a continued training institution. There should be provision for sabbatical leave.

The situation in India can be visualised from the following findings. Damodar in a study of student teaching programme in colleges of education in Andhra Pradesh found that all colleges did not have qualified staff. Saraf in a study conducted in Maharashtra found that English teacher educators were not adequately prepared for their jobs. Gupta made a survey of in-service education needs of teacher educators. The

study reported the needs which were- (a) non-formal education, (b) Working with community, etc. The need in case of pedagogy and methods of teaching various subjects varied from 0.7 per cent to 33 per cent. In case of method subjects needs varied from 20 per cent to 24 per cent. Need of 33 percentage was found in favour of educational psychology and educational and vocational guidance. This study indicates that teacher educators feel the necessity of their further education.

Mohanty in a study of student teaching programme in colleges of education in Orissa reported inadequately qualified method masters in certain subjects. N.C.T.E also pointed out the need for continuing education of teachers educators.

The education and training of teacher educators were given importance in new teacher education curriculum framework prepared by the National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi, in 1978. The document said that:

"...an equally massive programme of upgrading teacher educators will have to be undertaken immediately.

Primary level While primary teacher training institutions have been staffed by those who have been prepared really for secondary schools, they neither have the emission nor the competence to do the job efficiently it is however, necessary to develop programmes of longer duration contact in order to cultivate necessary skills for handling a variety of tasks more scientifically and systematically than they have done so far.

Secondary level. The new curriculum demands that the teacher educators himself should be equipped well with enriched content, knowledge of integrated methodology, skills to conduct work-experience activities and physical education and recreational activities. There is an immediate need to develop short duration correspondence-cum-contact courses, so that the teacher educators may be able to under take the job of the training of new type of teacher. Moreover, it is necessary that the teacher educator changes his methods and modes of teaching

theory papers, takes up the responsibility of supervising and guiding students in the area of "working with the community" becomes proficient in dealing with special training programme packages and evaluating the progress of student-teachers in all these areas and using a number of clinical and psychometric techniques.

Continuing education of teacher educators. These centres may have contact programmes and distance education programmes.

These programmes need to be given priority for the reason that professional courses received by teacher educators do not "constitute even an initial course for work in teacher training institutions." This is more necessary for systems like e.g.: Orissa, where a teacher educator serving in a teacher training institution is transferable to a secondary or middle school and *vice versa*. Some of the important skills required to be possessed by a teacher educator are: (a) skill in teaching adults, (b) skill in counselling and establishing human relations, (c) skill in observing and supervising lessons, (d) skill in conducting seminars, workshops, conferences, etc. (e) skill in maintaining co-ordination between the teacher training institution and the co-operating schools for practice teaching and other training programmes, (f) skill in giving guidance to teacher to conduct action researches, (g) skill in preparation and use of audio-visual aids etc.

Types of teacher educators

The teacher educators are of various categories. They can be broadly put into three categories: The first category consists of staff members of research institutions and teacher education institutions. The second category consists of administrators and supervisors in-building school heads. The third category consists of staff members of co-operating schools where student-teacher get training in practice teaching and other related practical work.

Suggested content areas for in service programme for teacher educators

1. For all categories:
 - (a) Adult psychology
 - (b) Adult teaching methods
 - (c) Conselling and establishing human relations
 - (d) Techniques of conduct of seminars, workshops, conferences, brain storming sessions, etc.
 - (e) modern educational technology
 - (f) Innovations in teacher education
2. For first category.
 - (a) Techniques of observation of lessons
 - (b) Techniques of feedback
 - (c) Techniques of evaluation
 - (d) Content knowledge in respective fields of teaching.
3. For second category
 - (a) Techniques of observation of lessons
 - (b) Techniques of feedback to student teachers and regular teachers and probationary teachers
 - (c) Innovations in educational supervision and administration
4. For third category
 - (a) Techniques of observation of lessons in various subjects of teaching
 - (b) Techniques of providing feedback
 - (c) Techniques of evaluating a lesson

In-service education of teacher educators in India

There is no organised programme for in-service education of

teacher educators within a specific period. Mostly the programmes are carried out through participation of teacher educators in various seminars, conferences, workshops organised by the national organisations and professional associations or colleges of education and departments of education of Universities with grants from various national level organisations like Indian Council of Social Science Research, National Council of Educational Research and Training and the University Grants Commission, etc.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training, New Delhi organises various programmes. It advertises details of different programmes indicating types of participants to be taken. Interested participants apply through their institutions. At times such participants are deputed. Similar arrangements are seen in case of programmes organised by the National Institute of Education Planning and Administration, New Delhi. Various professional associate also provide in-service education to teacher educators. The Indian Science congress Association has a section for Psychology and Educational Sciences. The All India Association for Educational Technology, Indian Academy subject association for Educational Technology, Indian Academy of Social Sciences, Indian Adult Education Association, various organise different programmes for in-service education of teacher educators. At times employers provide study leaves for higher education of teacher educators including study for M. Phil. and Ph.D. Degrees. The University Grants Commission also encourages in-service education of teacher educators through different programmes of the Centre of Advanced study.

The centre of advanced study in education, Baroda

The university grants commission has established a number of centres of advance stuf is in different subjects. The centre of advanced study in Education was located at the M.S. University of Baroda, Gujarat. The Centre had facilities for research work to be undertaken by teacher fellows, research fellows and

others. The teacher fellows were lecturers, readers in education working in different colleges of education or departments of education of different universities on deputation to the Centre. The University Grants Commission paid the salary of the substitute appointed in place of the teacher fellows. The teacher fellows besides receiving their salary regularly, received a monthly fellowship and annual contingency grant.

The centre drew teacher fellows from different parts of the country. Such a collection of teacher fellows provided a forum for informed education system prevailing in different parts of the country. The Centre also got scholars from outside India specially from Thailand and Bangladesh. The interaction thus goes beyond the national limit.

The Centre periodically arranged national seminars and workshops. The teacher fellows participated in those seminars and workshops. The teacher fellows get educated through these activities. The purpose of their coming to the Centre was for getting assistance for their Ph.D. work. In order to get registered at the Baroda University, the research scholar presents his or her research proposal in a seminar. This system is not in vogue in many universities of the country. Preparation of the research proposal and its presentation is an interesting activity of teacher fellow. The teacher fellows revise their proposal as per the suggestions given in the seminar. They also face another interview board before the proposal is finally accepted for registration.

Majority of teacher fellows got initiated into research and educational journalism at the centre. Their old ideas get refined and new ideas take birth. The author, during his period of stay at the Centre wrote three times more the number of articles that he had written during his earlier career. This habit of self learning continuous in case of most of the teacher fellows of the Centre.

While remaining at the Centre the teacher fellows come in contact with seminar readers and professors of education of the country who visit the Centre either to participate in seminars or workshops or conferences or to deliver guest lectures. This contact helps in improving the expertise of teacher educators in informal manner.

Institutional Approaches to Effective Education

Continuing professional educators work almost exclusively in the context of institutional settings. Although these settings vary in size, complexity, and purpose, they have something in common that the above anecdote vividly illustrates: The institutional context is a major, if not *the* major, determinant of continuing educators' understanding of effective practice. Each organization shapes in powerful ways what continuing educators do and how they do it. For example, the conference coordinator in a for-profit continuing medical education organization knows that she will be judged by the number of conference registrations and the net profit from her educational programs. Her institutional context offers clear and explicit guidelines for her vision of effective practice. To the extent possible, she will perform in ways consistent with this vision. Likewise, the human resources director in a hospital has a vision of effective practice that is shaped by the context in which he works. He knows that he will be judged by how well his programs have improved the performance of the hospital's professional staff. Clearly, there are substantive differences in how these two continuing professional educators define effective practice.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine how continuing educators' practice is shaped by the institutional context. Each specific institution has a unique set of values and resources and a particular history and culture. Continuing professional

educators are attentive to these characteristics and guide their practice accordingly. Although each institution is unique, groups of institutions share similar characteristics. For example, continuing professional educators in different universities encounter similar opportunities and constraints in their practice. As a result, universities can be considered a type of provider of continuing professional education.

An overview of continuing professional education providers is followed by a discussion of their strengths and weaknesses. Then the major institutional issues faced by continuing professional educators are explored, along with how the particular context frames its practice regarding these issues.

Educators rarely carry out their work without recognizing what other providers are doing and how other institutions may help or hinder their own practice. As a result the issue of competition and collaboration among providers has become a preoccupation of many continuing professional educators. The decisions educators make about interorganizational relationships have become such an important component of practice that they are discussed separately in the next chapter.

Which institutions provide continuing professional Education?

In summarizing the contributions of a variety of experts, Houle offered the following description of continuing professional education:

At a minimum, continuing professional education appears to be a complex of instructional systems, many of them heavily didactic, in which people who know something teach it to those who do not know it. The central aim of such teaching, which is offered by many providers, is to keep professionals up to date in their practice.

While the providers of these instructional systems are as varied as they are pervasive, no national repository of statistics exists that describes the number of providers, the number of

participants, or the amount of money spent for continuing professional education. Where data are available, the estimates vary so wildly that one cannot trust any one estimate. Thus, in trying to determine who the major providers are, Stern's advice will have to suffice: until statistics become available, "the experience of 'old hands'... will be a major resource".

There is, however, consensus in the literature that the four major providers are universities and professional schools, professional associations, employing agencies, and independent providers. Other types of providers that are described in the literature are government, foundations, autonomous groups such as teachers' centers, and purveyors of professional supplies and equipment. Within each of the types of providers many forms and subtypes can be identified.

It is impossible to estimate which types of providers are the most or the least prominent in either the number of offerings or the number of participants. Arnstein notes that while the rules are reasonably well established for counting participants in continuing higher education, "these rules do not extend to continuing education when offered by business and professional societies..." Also, the relative importance of each type of provider varies with the individual profession. Whereas universities are major providers in medicine and engineering, they are second to professional associations in the field of certified public accountancy and provide virtually no continuing education in the field of real estate. Thus, even if we knew how many educational programs were offered by each type of provider, it is likely that estimates would vary by profession. The next sections offer brief descriptions of the four major types of providers and the strengths and weaknesses of each institutional type as a provider of continuing professional education. These characteristics present themselves as both constraints and opportunities for practice in continuing professional education.

Universities and Professional Schools. The provision of continuing education by this institutional type is characterized by great diversity in annual numbers of participants, size of budget, and staff. Programs may be sponsored by professional schools, colleges, or departments, or by a university wide continuing education unit. Houle describes the various ways in which professional schools and universities relate: "There are many kinds and levels of such schools; some are free-standing and others are parts of larger entities, often universities". A recent development is the sponsorship of these schools by corporations, such as by Arthur D. Little and the Rand Corporation. Eurich has identified eighteen such "corporate colleges."

The patterns by which higher education organizes its continuing professional education function vary a great deal. The primary difference is whether it is coordinated into a single university function or administered separately by individual professional schools. An extreme example of the latter approach is that in 1977 a major university had thirty-eight separate administrative units responsible for the provision of continuing education. A major reason that decentralization is a desirable option for professional schools is that continuing education often generates a revenue surplus, which can be used to fund other projects. The decentralized approach is favoured by those who insist that the programming function can be performed only by individuals who are trained in the specific profession. As a consequence of this approach, continuing educators, rather than faculty or clients, tend to be the central figures in the planning process. These continuing educators usually believe they understand the problems of their profession, academically and from practice, and do not need to rely on others for programming ideas.

The centralized approach is becoming a more viable option because it can provide programming in a more efficient manner. It seems inefficient for several professional schools at

the same university to establish duplicative staffs and facilities. Houle notes that general extension divisions are building up staffs of competent programmers with advanced degrees in continuing education. In contrast to the decentralized approach, faculty members and clients have central roles in the educational planning process. Because many people with advanced degrees in continuing education do not have a background in the content area in which they are providing programs, they rely on those who do have this background. Another plus for the centralized arrangement is that more physical resources may be available, such as residential centers, audiovisual materials, and computer-assisted instruction. A hybrid of the centralized and decentralized approaches has been implemented at Pennsylvania State University, where the professional school or department is the locus of the planning effort and technical support is given by a centralized university unit.

Higher educational institutions have a number of strengths as continuing professional education providers. Because of their research orientation, universities are the primary source of knowledge for most professions. It is appropriate, then, that the faculty members who originally develop and present this information should teach it to practitioners through continuing education programs. Universities are experienced with lengthy and complex forms of instruction, as delivered in preservice training, and can provide certification for the successful completion of such instruction. Unlike other providers that deliver relatively discrete forms of instruction over a short period of time, universities are more capable of offering lengthy types of learning experiences that lead to continuing education credits.

Unlike most other providers, universities have a large resident staff whose full-time responsibility is instruction. With the decline of the school-age population many of these faculty members have insufficient numbers of preservice students and

thus are able to turn their energies to the education of practicing professionals. Another strength is that these institutions ordinarily have more abundant and readily available physical facilities than other providers, such as housing, libraries, meeting rooms, state-of-the-art equipment, and food service.

The problems faced by professionals are often complex and require interdisciplinary solutions. For example, members of several professional groups may be involved in a decision to remove life-support systems from a patient. The university is in an excellent position to provide educational programs about this issue for representatives from all of these professions because of the comprehensive makeup of its faculty. Particularly when programming is done by the centralized approach, an individual professional, such as a social worker, might attend a program that has instructors from medicine and law as well as social work.

Perhaps most important is the perception by most professionals that universities are a credible source of continuing education. The perception that "quality is higher education's most important attribute" predominates even among those who believe that higher education is losing its place as a major continuing professional education provider.

Higher education has a number of weaknesses as a provider. One is that continuing professional education is not a primary function of higher education institutions. One consequence is that substantial and reliable funding is not generally available. Primarily as a result of the lack of a funding base, "the university as an institution has no independent policy and no independent set of practical guidelines in continuing professional education". Thus, the continuing education efforts at any one institution are often uneven because they rely upon an enthusiastic committee member, the ability of the programming staff to convince faculty to teach beyond their normal teaching load, or the

presence of grant monies to support special programming. Knox found that almost all income comes from fees paid by participants, which contributed to instability in the programming unit.

A second consequence of being a marginal university function is that professors view continuing education as ancillary to other work and responsibilities. Knox found a lack of incentives and rewards for faculty participation in one university's continuing education effort. Yet many faculty members will conduct programs for other providers, including other universities, for higher honoraria. Experimentation at Pennsylvania State University has found that faculty members can be encouraged to be part of their university's continuing education effort when they see promise of joint publications, collaborative research, or opportunities for recognition from their peers.

Universities generally do not have the ability to link what is taught to practice. Even the continuing education representatives of higher education recognize that universities are separate from professional work settings and thus cannot reinforce what is taught as well as other providers. A notable exception is the "practice integrated learning sequence" developed by the Temple University Office of Continuing Medical Education. This office-based educational activity incorporates the actual practice of medicine into a formal educational program, with primary focus on the quality of physicians' practice behaviors.

Several other weaknesses have been cited by a prominent leader among the independent providers of continuing education. Suleiman notes that universities are generally limited to their own faculty and facilities; are generally insensitive to instructional quality; have only limited ideas about how to price their product; lack proper marketing expertise; have internal organizational characteristics that are not conducive to

developing, marketing, and administering programs; and tend to be rooted in traditional approaches to fields of knowledge.

Professional Associations. Nowlen estimates there are at least three thousand national professional associations. Many more state and local associations either are organized independently or are affiliated with a national body. Typically each profession is represented by at least several associations, while some associations have members from several professions. Professional associations think about and deliver continuing education in considerably different ways, depending on the number of members, the scope of purpose, and the size and structure of staff. In many cases, however, the educational program is defined as having to do with the "accreditation of professional schools or other training programs, the issuance of publications, the sponsorship of conventions and conferences, and the operation of special training programs, such as courses, conferences workshops, and other activities clearly defined as instruction". A study done in 1977 showed that nearly all associations provided some form of continuing education for their members, and about one-third sponsored certificate, licensure, or degree programs.

One of the major strengths of associations is their ability to secure a wide array of talent, especially from their membership. Other providers are usually limited to members of their own staffs. In contrast, associations include among their membership many, if not most, of the professionals in the field, who can bring a variety of points of view to the educational programming. Additionally, because of "an association's breadth of service and continuity of coverage, its educational program has a special capacity to deliver discrete and not necessarily sequential messages". Associations are best at sponsoring conferences that build on this strength, as opposed to programs that require depth of coverage over a relatively long duration. Associations also have direct access to professionals who are seeking continuing education and are

usually familiar with their learning needs. Finally, associations are able to engage in some cost-effective strategies for delivering educational programmes. For example, in comparison to private enterprises, associations enjoy a nonprofit status and thus have certain financial advantages, such as reduced postage expenses. Also, programs can be replicated within the levels of an association, thus amortizing the start-up costs over a number of offerings. For example, a program developed at the national level can be used by state and local affiliates for a relatively low cost.

A major weakness of professional associations is the organizational placement of the continuing education function. The educational function is typically shared by different divisions or committees responsible for publications, conventions, and the standard type of educational programs. The effect of this practice is that the educational program division may be responsible for only a few specific programs, which may not be considered important by the membership because they can find these programs elsewhere. Continuing educators also are often at a disadvantage when they compete for internal resources with other association divisions, such as one dealing with legislative concerns that have greater public relations value.

A second weakness stems from the role of association staff in carrying out the educational function. Staff members usually cannot take the leadership in programming because they are viewed as subordinate to volunteer committees of association members. Although they would like to have a more substantive role in programming, staff are often viewed as simply "seminar schedulers". Directors of education tend to be involved in many association responsibilities, limiting their ability to take a leadership role in the program development process. When educational programming is directed by a board that changes from year to year, long-term planning or future-oriented programming suffers.

Several other weaknesses stem from the nature of professional associations. Suleiman notes that associations typically lack marketing expertise and have only a limited idea about how to price their product. Associations may lack the physical facilities, such as a meeting space and a library, that are necessary for educational ventures. Finally, Nowlen argues that associations generally do not engage in interprofessional programming because they lack the political base to use association resources to address other professions.

Employment Settings. Employers such as hospitals, social agencies, business firms, and governments offer a tremendous amount of continuing education to their employees. While estimates of the money spent by employers on the educational function vary, a commonly accepted figure is \$60 billion annually. This may be compared to the \$55 billion spent by all higher education institutions in 1981-82. Although not all of this money is spent on educating professionals, a reasonable hypothesis is that more continuing professional education is offered by employers than by higher education. Shelton and Craig cite recent evidence indicating that at least half of the continuing education in health care is provided by employers, in contrast with other providers, and that "most management education is done by employers and by the training industry." The central task of educators in employment settings is to improve participants' performance with respect to the mission of the agency. The measure of success is the extent to which the problem that gave rise to an educational program has been remedied.

The employers' ability to directly assess "specific inadequacies of personal or collective service" is perhaps the greatest strength of providing education within employment settings. Unlike any other provider, professionals' performance problems can be directly assessed on a regular basis and used to determine both the need for an educational program and the extent to which the program has made a difference in the

workplace. Employers have fairly explicit performance expectations, which, when not met, can provide a powerful stimulus for effective educational programming. Continuing educators in the employment setting are in a unique position to coordinate educational strategies with the daily work of employees, thereby increasing the likelihood that what was learned in a program is applied on the job.

It is possible to involve members of several professions in a learning activity to solve a particular organizational problem. A good example is the hospital setting where increasing morbidity or mortality rates are often due to the collective rather than the individual failure of physicians, nurses, and allied health staff.

Another strength from the employer's viewpoint is the relative convenience of scheduling and the minimization of lost work time due to attendance at programs outside the workplace. However, keeping participants' attention when attending an educational activity at the workplace can present several problems that stem from their proximity to their work. It is difficult for employees to maintain their focus to remain present at an educational program when they believe it is more important to attend to their work.

The relative convenience of on-site training must be balanced against the relatively higher cost. In a national study of providers of adult education and training, Anderson and Kasl found that the average cost of a "participant learning hour" was \$38 for employers, compared to \$5 for colleges and universities and \$15 for professional associations. Payment by employers for participants' lost work time accounts for some of these cost differences; when this cost is excluded the average cost of a PLH drops to \$26. The other major cost difference is that instructors' salaries are much higher for employers than for colleges and universities and associations.

Because education is subservient to the main goals of the

employment setting, the education function often suffers from a lack of regular and substantial support from the parent body, particularly in difficult financial situations. Also, most employers of professionals do not have a senior executive in charge of education. Most often the educational function is merged with the personnel function in a human resource development office. Nowlen points out that one result of this structure is that the quality of educational decision making by employers is no more sophisticated than that of other providers. Their educational planning is likely to be far less proficient than for primary organizational goals, such as providing health care or manufacturing consumer goods. Finally, employers can promote only a limited vision of how to solve a work-related problem through learning activities. As Nowlen notes: "The educational strategy can become as incestuous and self-deceptive as the organizational culture which developed it."

Independent Providers. The providers in this category represent a wide range of institutions and constitute a growing segment of the field. Some of these providers are operated for profit and others are nonprofit, some are cooperative self-help ventures, and some are philanthropic organizations. Research organizations and consulting firms such as Arthur D. Little, accounting firms, and manufacturers/suppliers such as IBM often use seminars and conferences to gain exposure to customers and client groups. Publishers are also moving into continuing professional education as another way to serve well-defined audiences to whom they currently provide printed materials. There are also the "privates", institutions that are organized on a free-standing basis and treat continuing professional education strictly as a business.

The greatest advantage that independent providers have is program development. Suleiman argues that they can respond quickly to learners' needs, "with good instruction free from problems of faculty involvement, committee approvals, and other political considerations". Most private organizations offer

programs nationally, which enables them to amortize development costs over a number of offerings. Because of their flexibility, independent providers have pioneered new formats and methods of instruction that have subsequently been adopted by larger and better established providers of continuing education.

The independent providers' major weakness is that, in general, they lack an automatic image of quality and thus are less credible to their audiences until they demonstrate otherwise. For example, a program sponsored by a manufacturer is generally suspect until it is clear that the educational format is not simply being used to promote products. Lacking a credible image is a problem partly because continuing professional education is a field that is easy to enter. Many independent providers have exploited either professionals' desire to learn or their need to meet recertification requirements with programs that have promised more than they delivered.

However, independent providers also have the freedom to create their own image. Unlike universities, which have a deeply rooted image independent providers can develop an image that is consistent with the educational product they wish to sell. Ironically, a common strategy used to overcome this image problem is having faculty members from higher education institutions as instructors. In about 40 percent of the direct mail brochures received from independent providers by the University of Chicago's Office of Continuing Education, the instructors were university faculty members.

Because "privates" are a single-item business they are extremely sensitive to downward swings in the economy because no other part of the business can pick up the slack when relatively fewer people attend their programs. They also usually lack the facilities necessary for extensive educational programming, such as libraries and many classrooms.

The major points of this discussion of the distinctive characteristics of the four major providers of continuing professional education are summarized in Table 2. Four categories—constituency, credibility, financing, and resources—are used to make provider comparisons. Although each opportunity and constraint does not operate as described for all situations, the table may still be used as a guide for analyzing specific institutional contexts.

The institutional context of effective practice

One primary goal of people working in institutions is to do what they do well, whether it is producing automobiles, offering health care, or providing education. If an organization is working well, all of its subunits will be working together toward the same ends. The educational subunit is part of this larger institutional context, and helps to determine the way its members go about their work. Continuing professional educators are not independent agents serving their audience in ways that only they believe is appropriate. Rather, their concept of which audience to serve and how to serve it is conditioned by the demands of the parent institution as it tries to survive and prosper. Continuing professional educators must constantly be sensitive to how their effort relates to basic organizational goals.

Continuing professional educators practice in different types of institutional contexts and have different educational functions. Thus, effectiveness is judged in different ways. Some organizations use continuing education as a means of improving the performance of professionals, others use it to generate income, and still others use it as a public relations strategy. Some of these functions are not ideal and may contradict an educator's vision about the true purpose of continuing professional education. Yet these functions are powerful determinants of effective practice. If continuing professional educators are to survive and prosper, they must

keep in mind the educational goals institutionally defined as effective.

The key question is: What is the relationship of the continuing education unit to the basic purposes of the agency of which it is a part? A broad classification scheme has been used to analyze the different forms that these relationships can take in other adult education agencies. Fundamental differences flow from these relationships regarding the audience and the mission of a continuing education unit. No matter what type of agency continuing educators work in, the key leadership challenge is to position "continuing education activities so that they come to be seen as actively contributing to the attainment of institutional goals".

Relationship to the parent agency

Darkenwald and Merriam purpose that adult educational agencies relate to the purposes of their parent organization in four different ways. Based on this scheme, continuing professional education can be the primary function of an agency, a secondary function of an educational agency, a complementary function of a quasi-educational agency, or a supportive function of a noneducational agency. The four major types of continuing professional education providers correspond fairly well to these four orientations. However, the boundaries between orientations are somewhat blurred and there is some difficulty in classifying all institutions into one orientation or another. In the following section, these orientations are arrayed on a continuum, beginning with the one in which continuing education is the most derivative of the parent's basic operating goals, and proceeding to the one in which it is central to the agency's basic purpose.

Noneducational organizations use continuing education to enhance the achievement of their fundamental mission. For example, the basic purpose of schools is to teach children, of architectural firms to design buildings, and of hospitals to

restore patients to health. In these types of settings, continuing education is more a means than an end to its parent institution's goals.

Employing agencies were characterized as using education as a means of improving their primary service or product. In these settings, professionals' needs are usually of less concern than organizational needs in determining the content of continuing education programs. For example, the administrators of a hospital felt a need to help patients leave more quickly after surgery because its third-party payers would only reimburse a patient's stay for a specified number of days. Thus, the continuing education unit implemented program to teach nurses some physical therapy strategies that could be used with patients to promote a quicker recovery. Continuing educators in employing agency settings usually need to demonstrate how their efforts relate to effectively providing the parent's basic service or product.

Professional associations are an example of *quasi-educational organizations* in that continuing education is only one of their basic purposes. Associations are organized to advance the interests of their members. Most are devoted to their members' professional development, as well as to legislative lobbying, maintaining certification programs, and promoting the public image of the profession. Associations vary in the importance they attach to education. Some consider continuing education one of their most important responsibilities and have a full-time educational director. Other associations attach little importance to education and thus have no one to handle it.

Continuing professional education is a *secondary function* of universities and professional schools in which preparatory education is a primary function. In this position the heads of continuing education units are usually at a disadvantage in fighting for institutional resources. This is often true even for those units that have a long history, large staffs, and sizable

budgets. Continuing education units are marginal, and will continue to be so until the higher education faculty considers the instruction of practicing professionals a mainstream responsibility.

Independent providers have two orientations to continuing education. Agencies such as pharmaceutical companies that use continuing professional education to market their products or services are noneducational providers. They use continuing education as a way to achieve another organizational end. In contrast, the business of selling continuing professional education programs is a primary function of the "private" providers, so the mission of the parent body and the continuing education unit is the same. Continuing educators in these agencies have a great deal of discretion in what they do because their work does not derive from the operating goals of a parent body.

Market relationships

The relationship of the continuing education unit to its parent body has important implications for how its market is defined. Moving on a continuum from noneducational to independent agencies, the audience or market for continuing education becomes increasingly external. The audience for continuing education in employing agencies, their employees, is almost completely internal. There is little need to market these programs to professionals outside the organization. Some units do this only as a secondary activity to the education of the employees. Professional associations also have a constituency, their members and others in the profession who are not members. Association members have some affinity and allegiance to the programs of the association. However, the association has little formal control over its members and so must market these programs to them. Universities and independent providers share a similar situation, in that they do not have a constituency for their programs. Thus, the market for both of these providers is totally external. The only part of

the market that has some natural affinity to universities and professional schools is their own graduates. Independent providers generally have to start from scratch in building up a constituency.

At least three types of providers serve external audiences that have varying degree of allegiance to them. Azzaretto suggests that continuing educators must develop a competitive strategy in order to secure a sufficient number of participants from these audiences. He offers five components of a competitive planning model for continuing professional education providers.

The first is that the provider must have an internal orientation to service excellence. First popularized by Peters and Waterman, the "customer-driven" organization is now seen as a key in any people-intensive business such as continuing professional education. Second, providers must attend to the processes of market segmentation and positioning. Taken together, these two concepts provide a basis for developing instructional programs that meet client needs, are market competitive, and are based on what the provider does best. The third element is to develop a focused operating and geographic strategy. That is, providers should be clear about why and where they are serving their audience. The fourth part of the strategy is to establish partnerships and coalitions, a topic that is treated at length in the next chapter. Fifth, the ultimate test for a competitive strategy is that participants perceive the quality and cost effectiveness of the educational product as high.

Taken together, these elements make up an organized plan to analyze a provider's existing strengths and resources. By using this plan to design and deliver programs, continuing educators can increase the likelihood of developing effective market relationships.

Educational mission and effective practice

The institutional context strongly influences the focus of continuing professional educators' practice. This occurs because the purposes of the parent agency determine to a great extent the mission of the continuing education unit or function. Continuing educators themselves can help shape the mission and operating agenda for their unit, and a number of strategies are available for them to do so. Instead of slavishly carrying out the ends of their parent organization, they can work within a discretionary framework set up by the goals and resources of the parent agency. For example, the director of education in a professional association may be able to increase the importance of the educational function within her work setting, although she will probably never convince the association that it should test member performance as a basis for developing continuing education programs. Regardless of the amount of discretion continuing educators have in defining their mission, the effectiveness of their practice cannot be determined independent of the institutional context in which it occurs. Ultimately, whether institutional goals are served is the major criterion of the value of any educational practices.

The endemic problem of adult illiterates coupled with the poor performance of primary education has plagued the education development and is creating socio-economic inequities in Pakistan. The efforts to promote primary education were considered necessary in the country soon after its inception on the map of the world in 1947. The problem of adult illiterates was not given enough attention with the result that country has 53.40 million adult illiterates in 1990. the literacy ratio is 30% sharp differences between male and female and rural and urban population. The literacy for urban males is 55.3% but it is as low as 1.7% for rural females in one of the provinces. Similarly only 63.5% of the primary school are group children have access to schools and 50 of those drop out before completing the five year cycle. Several policy documents and five year development plans set targets to

achieve universal primary education and increase literacy ratio to 90%. But the target dates were reset in every policy and plan. The reasons for this poor performance in basic education are varied and complex. Several strategies and programmes were tried to achieve UPE and promote literacy but most of the programmes were based on adhoc planning and poor implementation. As a result the success rate was modest and several programmes were abandoned half way and wasted lot of scarce financial resources. For these experiences it became evident that formal education programmes have failed to meet the demands of basic education. Curriculum was rigid and irrelevant to the needs of rural masses and kept a huge population away from the formal education institutions.

This case study is an attempt to analyze different formal and non-formal education programmes in the sectors of primary education and literacy. However, the specific objectives of this study are as follows:

- Why Pakistan has lagged behind so much in promoting literacy rate?
- Why the different innovative programmes have serious implementation deficiencies?
- Why the targets of universal primary education have been elusive?
- What can be learnt from different programmes of primary education?

Following four programmes will be discussed and analyzed to draw conclusions and strategies for future planning and implementation:

- Experimental Pilot Project Integrating Education and Rural Development (EPPIERD) 1977/Rural Education and Development (READ) 1980;
- Primary Education Project (PEP) 1979-1984;
- Nai Roshni Schools 1987-88;

- **IQRA Pilot Project 186-87.**

The READ and IQRA Pilot Projects adopted non-formal education strategies to promote literacy. The READ Project though experimental in nature and only extended to Federal area of Islamabad was based on different programmes whereas the IQRA Project imparted only literacy skills of reading and writing.

The PEP and Nai Roshni Schools were the projects for primary education under formal school system. PEP was a pilot project to experiment the utility of some inputs to increase enrollment, decrease drop out, improve the quality of education and make primary education cost effective. The Nai Roshni provided a second chance to primary school drop outs or to those who could not attend to primary schools because of any reason between the age of 5 to 9 years.

These four programmes/project have been selected because they provide a range of information to over formal as well as non-formal education and also analyze literacy versus primary education programmes.

Analysis of innovative educational projects:

- A) Experimental Pilot Project Integrating Education and Rural Development (EPPIERD) 1977/Rural Education and Development (READ) 1980

This project was started in 1977 in collaboration with UNESCO having following objectives for a period of five years:

Objectives

- i) Endeavour to develop and test models of primary education which may be made available to the maximum number of rural children. These models would involve feasible structures, curricula, methods, textbooks, teaching aids and materials.

- ii) Attempt to establish improved educational services to be extended to an increasing number of primary school leavers and other who need sound basic pre-vocational education and/or training.
- iii) Develop and test new skill-oriented programmes for children, youths and adults, in fields such as literacy and numeracy, general education, civics, crop and animal husbandry, agro-technical subjects, arts and crafts, cottage industries, health, nutrition, home improvement and population education
- iv) Develop new communication and learning techniques including radio, community audio media, education by correspondence, games, team and peer teaching and relating the program to the milieu, using the suitable combinations of mean and channels.
- v) Assist in the training and/or retraining of educational personnel to provide necessary orientation or reorientation to the community and its environment and potential.

The project was designed as a part of a larger effort by the government of Pakistan to integrate educational programmes with rural development and promote better economic opportunities for rural development. The project only made a modest beginning during the first four years hence it was modified in 1980-81 and renamed as Rural Education and Development.

Strategy

The project was launched in 32 villages. In any such program of rural development, with an overwhelming component of education, suffers from lack of motivation of people for whom the project was launched. In view of this difficulty the village people were made fully aware of the objectives of the project, how it was to be implemented and what expected results were to be achieved. The project management was ensured following activities:

- Organize Village Education Committees in order to have organized planning and management bodies for rural development.
- Held a seminar for headmasters/headmistresses to acquaint them with the methodology and procedure of administering the questionnaires for pre-launching survey.
- Conducted village surveys with the help of the headmasters/headmistresses and members of the Village Education Committees.
- Analyzed the raw data in order to have an overall view of the needs, problems resources, and dynamics of power of each of the project villages.
- Periodic but regular visits of the project staff to the project areas for rapport and monitoring.

A mix of strategies of normal and non-formal approaches were adopted to accommodate flexibility in the implementation of the programme. an integrated package of different components was based on following strategies:

- Purely non-formal education activities of universalization of primary education.
- Integrated formal and non-formal education programmes to increase the effectiveness of elementary school education through combination of basic skills consistent with the occupational needs of the community.
- Formal education with improved curricula, textbooks, instructional materials and teaching/learning aids through massive use of instructional technology.
- Integrated package of non-formal education components to provide economic motivation, socio-cultural development and educational services to community.

Inputs/outputs

On the basis of needs of rural people the project activities/ inputs were designed for children, youth and adults to enable

them to participate in the socio-economic development of the village. A package of five components was developed for the project (i) village workshops, (ii) women education centre, communing viewing centres, (iii) adult literacy centres, (iv) Mohallah schools, and (v) Mosque schools. A brief description of each component is presented:

Village Workshops: The village workshop was to provide skill training to village youth and untrained manpower. A skilled *mistry* was appointed at a fixed salary of Rs.500/- per month to conduct the training of participants on these trades i.e. wood work, masonry and metal work. Each workshop was provided necessary tools and some consumable material. The workshops were expected to generate funds from the sale of their products. Twenty five workshops were established from 1980 to 1984.

Fifteen of these workshops provided training in wood work, four in metal work and two in masonry. Four workshops were closed for different reasons. About 194 students were enrolled in twenty one workshops and average enrollment per workshop was 9 trainees. The record of these workshops revealed that about 12 workshops were able to sell articles produced by the trainees at a cost of Rs.23,864/- during four year period. The average sale proceeds of the workshop was Rs.1988/- which was more than the amount of any other such project/experience. About 26 students were trained during this period from village workshops.

The trainees who had spent 5 to 6 months in the workshops did not progress in the skill development to such an extent that they could be self employed. The major reason was that instructors/craftsmen were not trained to teach skills. The craftsmen were food in their skills but teaching was a difficult part. Secondly the students did not attend the workshops regularly because of different local problems. The raw material was not provided in adequate supply and it could not be replenished either. The experience had a limited success but

could prove useful if the project was modified, instructors were trained in pedagogy, more raw material provided, modern trades such as welding, electricity were introduced, only interested committed students to be enrolled and above all the level of skills should be attained to such an extent that after the completion of training the trainee could start work/earn money at his own.

Women Education Centers/Community Viewing Centers:

These centers were established for out of school girls and under-employed rural women to provide training in the income generating skills like sewing, knitting, embroidery and poultry farming. A locally qualified and experienced female teacher was appointed at the centre with a fixed salary Rs.300/- p.m. In accordance with the requirement of each centre one sewing and one knitting machine were provided. Thirty two centres were established to provide skill training to the students for income generation. This earning could raise the standard of living or respective families. The total enrollment was 773 in 32 centres with an average of 24 trainees per centre. The drop out rate of trainees was 30% from these centres and the major reasons were: (i) marriage outside the village; (ii) lack of job opportunities after training (iii) poverty of the trainers and unable to purchase raw material (iv) household chores. The standard of material produced by the trainees was satisfactory. The income generating objective of centres was not achieved because the trained graduates of these centres were not producing for the market but the products were made for family needs and friends. In this way it was difficult to assess the financial contribution made to the family. Another important objective was to bring desired change in the attitude of rural population which was imperative that new skills should be introduced and encouraged and also the traditional skills may be modified according to local needs. It was considered necessary to provide a bulk supply of raw material on reasonable price to these centres. It was also found out that the training of teachers/instructors was necessary to make these

centres work efficiently. The community viewing centres also provided literacy skills to females. Each teacher/resource person was given Rs.150/-per month for teaching literacy. These centres provided a good combination of income generating and literacy skills.

Adult Literacy Centers: The illiteracy problem is serious in Pakistan with only 16.1% literacy rate for females according to the 1981 census. The extreme cases in rural areas are grim where female literacy is as low as 1.7%. The project established 17 centers out of which 13 were for males and 4 for females. The enrollment of adult illiterate was 184 students hence the average enrollment per centre was 12 students.

The adult literacy centres were opened for both male and female to make rural masses literate. One instructor for each centre was appointed to impart the skills reading, writing and numeracy. The performance of literacy centres was very good and most of adults who joined the centres were made literate although relapse into illiteracy was common.

Mohallah Schools: Under the READ Project Mohallah Schools were opened in those villages where there were no facilities for primary education or the school was not within the walking distance of children. Those schools imparted education to girls of different age groups. The accommodation for the school was provided by the Village Education Committee. The teacher was paid an honorarium of Rs.150/- per month. By 1984 about 26 Mohallah schools were established in project area but 5 had to close down because of different reasons. The total enrolment was 1258 in the remaining 23 schools with an average of 55 students per school. The percentage of enrolled students was the highest in pre-class I & II which was 58%. The lack of teachers posed a serious problem to the successful functioning of the Mohallah Schools. Each if the teachers became available they were not competent to teach. The casual behavior and irregularity of students was not conducive to the successful functioning of Mohallah schools.

Mosque Schools: The problem of access for primary school age children is a serious issue. It is not only the lack of schools but the inability of the students to reach school is also a constraint. The rising cost of building primary schools could be reduced if the mosque could be used as school after Fajar prayers. The mosque is available in each settlement or vicinity in Pakistan which reduces physical distance and enable the children to attend schools. In the project area thirty seven mosque schools were opened. Each school was provided black board and teaching material. The teaching was done by Imam of the mosque who got honorarium of Rs. 150/- per month and a teacher who got the salary of Rs.300/- per month. The component of mosque school was most successful in the project. It provided easy access to school, increased enrolment and reduced cost because the cost on building was altogether saved. The curriculum of mosque schools was the same as that of regular primary schools.

Conclusions

Management: The project suffered from serious management flaws. The supervisory staff consisted of part time Project Director, two Senior Research Officers one Education Facilitator and one Vocational Supervisor alongwith small supporting staff. The number of villages increased in the project but there had been no increase in the supervisory staff commensurate with the increase in the area of operation. It was necessary to take adequate measures to implement the project effectively with qualified and adequate staff.

Physical Facilities: The successful inputs among the five components were mosque schools and women education centers. Although no enrolment targets were set against which achievements could be measured but the project have considerable impact in the project area. In any future activity of this nature it is imperative that qualitative targets for different activities should be spelled out. One major achievement of the project was that the people of the area gained experience of

managing their own affair through the local Village Education Committees. It also created an urge for improvement and a sense of participation and achievement. The beginning was made in right direction which created opportunities for income generating activities. The project also created a self development process for local people.

Cost Effectiveness: It can be said that some components of the project were successful and more cost effective than the others. In the case of mosque school there was no development expenditure on the construction of school so the entire cost of building a two room school was saved. It also increased the enrolment at primary level and brought those children to school who as problem travelling long distance without any public transport. The performance of village workshop cannot be called a success because the skills learned were not used for income generation its laid down expectation. The case of women education centres was cost effective and the cost per trainee was Rs.36/- against Rs.2400/- per trainee in similar centres of other agencies. The Mohallah schools suffered from the lack of similar centres of other agencies. The Mohallah schools suffered from the lack of organizational arrangement hence could not succeed.

The cost of per trainee in women education center was Rs.36/- in village workshop Rs.974/- and in Adult Literacy Centre Rs.116/- which made the project cost effective.

Local Participation: The project was planned in such a way that the local people must be involved and motivated to work for the successful functioning of all the components. The accommodation for women education centres, village workshops, mosque schools and adult literacy was provided by the community. The community was so motivated that, it made some financial contribution to the project in the form of conveyance allowance for two female teachers. These teachers had to travel long distance to reach the project villages. But project certainly faced factional rivalries, tribal/caste

differences, political bickerings, religious differences, personal jealousies, extremists idea and inertia. In an future activity of this nature all these factors must be kept in mind at the planning stage of the project.

Income Generation: It was an inherent expectation that this project which adopted non-formal approach to provide variety of skills to village people would be different from the formal education programmes. It was planned that women education centres and village workshops would generate income through the sale of commodities prepared by the trainees. A beginning was made but the impact was very limited because the quality or standard could not be maintained, quantity or production was very slow and small with irregular supply hence the products would not compete with the market. However, the sale criteria was not the only parameter for the success of the project. The project changed the attitude of village people towards education and they were more inclined that this kind of skill training/education should be organized in their villages.

Primary education project

The first Primary Education Project partially funded by the World Bank started in 1979 for a period of five years. It was an experimental project with the total cost of US\$ 17 million whereas the US\$ 10 million were provided by the Bank. The project assisted all the provincial governments and provided classroom buildings, improve teacher training, expand school supervision and improve instructional material. The Primary Education Project was very different from the READ Project. The PEP was for the improvement of primary education under the formal education system and experiment was undertaken in 4000 primary schools covering all provinces of Pakistan. The READ was a non-formal functional adult literacy project.

Objectives

- Increased access to primary schools especially for girls and for rural poor.
- Reduce wastage through the reduction of drop and out and repetition.
- Improved quality of instruction and higher student achievement.
- Reduced unit cost by reducing wastage inherent in drop-out and moving towards larger class and school sizes.

Inputs

Following inputs were provided to the project:

i) Physical facilities

- Construction of classrooms;
- Construction of boundary walls of female schools;
- Construction of residences for female teachers; and
- Classroom furniture.

ii) Instructional materials

- Supply of textbooks, teacher's guide books and library books;
- Supply of classroom equipment like teaching kit or agricultural kit; and
- Supply of sport's items for children.

iii) Strengthened Supervision

- Provision of supervisors and a new tier of Learning Coordinators; and
- Provision of mobility for Supervisors and Learning Coordinators.

iv) Added Support to Teachers

- Appointment of Assistant Teachers;
- Establishment of Centre Schools;
- Provision of District Resource Centres; and
- Provision of recurrent type-inservice teachers' training

Strategy

The project was experimental in nature and intended to

measure the impact of some inputs to achieve the objectives. The experimentation was *whether* (i) provision of female teacher residences; (ii) availability of assistant teachers can resolve the problem of an inadequate supply of female teachers; particularly in the rural areas; (iii) increased training of teachers result in improved teacher performance and consequent improved pupil achievement; (iv) improved supervision reduces teacher absenteeism; (v) increased contact between parents and teachers results in greater enrolment and less dropout; and (vi) cost per student can be reduced through the use of assistant teachers and movement towards an optimum class and school size.

Measurements to answer these questions were divided into four categories (i) demographic data on population, enrolment dropouts and repetitions secured from school through management channels and school mapping capability; (ii) benchmark tests of pupil achievement and attitudes of parents and community members on education and school; and (iv) cost data.

The project was divided into three periods (i) Preparatory: A period of 20 months devoted primarily to selection and training personnel, construction of physical facilities, and design of experiments. (ii) Experimental School: Years Three school years beginning in March of 1981, 1982, and 1983 in which impact of the project inputs would be measured and evaluated. (iii) Analysis of REsults: A follow-up period of 6 to 9 months in which final experimental results would be analyzed, conclusions drawn and recommendations made.

Achievement Studies: In order to measure improvement in quality it was decided that achievement testing of children should be undertaken starting in 1981 and continuing upto 1984. Data collected during 1981 was to serve as the benchmark. Originally objective tests in 5-6 discipline areas for grade III to V were developed and administered and they were specific to each province. These tests were then modified in the

light of feed-back from 1981 and were administered during the second time in 198. On critical perusal these objective tests were found to be extremely deficient and were administered in situations which left much to be desired. Again, the teachers in primary schools went on a strike for three months and the academic years was disrupted. Furthermore, the experimental design did not incorporate control schools. Thus the data on achievement testing collected during 1981 and 1982 had only limited validity for drawing any worthwhile conclusions. The whole strategy was changed then and national tests in mathematics for grade V and science for grade IV were developed. The concept of control schools was also brought in. Thus, the data collected during 1983 served as a benchmark data and comparison with 1984 data led to some meaningful interpretations and conclusions.

Attitudinal Studies: The original experimental design visualized a shift in the attitude towards education on the part of children, parents, teachers and community members as a result of the implementation of the Project. Some attitudinal studies were conducted during 1981 and 1982 in the four provinces using scales specific to provinces. In fact two provinces utilized methodology along the lines of Likert Scales whilst the other two adopted Thurston type of scales. However, after the exercise in 1982 it was felt that the design of attitudinal studies was based on some simplistic assumptions which might be true for a literate community but which were definitely not relevant for the rural areas of Pakistan where literacy was far too low. Besides, the purely academic approach as was imparted to these studies had very little value of a pragmatic nature. The money, energy and time required to undertake these studies was far in excess of any practical use to which the results could be put. Taking into account the very limited research capabilities it was thought expedient to discontinue the activity as proposed originally. The only relevant portion pertained related to the users perception of the

efficacy of the various inputs and interventions made under the Project.

Demographic Studies: Demographic Studies were designed to obtain a gain in the participation rate of children or a fall in the dropout rate with consequent impact on unit costs. A computer based demographic questionnaire was designed and data relating to 1981 and 1982 was obtained. It was recommended that the questionnaire was over-ambitious and asked for information which could not possibly be related to the project. Also errors were made during the stage of data entry with the result that the 1981 data was lost for all practical purposes. The data assembled during the cycle 1982 was used as the benchmark data. During 1983 the demographic questionnaire was revised and reduced to one third by keeping only the essential features.

Qualitative Studies: It was felt from the very beginning that data of a quantitative nature though valid and reliable would be of limited value in the type of situation in which an experiment of the scale of the PEP was being undertaken. This depended upon the interpretation of experience and it was often of a fairly subjective dimension. Thus it was thought that some sort of in-depth qualitative studies may be more pertinent in lending illumination to the actual dynamics of the educational process. However, such techniques were fairly new in Pakistan and it was essential first to give researchers adequate training and experience.

Conclusions

The Primary Educational Project was completed in 1984 within its planned five year duration. In this period very useful experiences were gained which could help in the planning of future projects and to make appropriate modification in the structure of education.

Management: The Institutional Framework of the project was too loose and could not ensure its execution effectively as

planned. The concept of a team with common objectives and shared aspirations never took deep roots. Several employees who were give on the job training left their jobs or were transferred to other positions. There was considerable turn over in the staff including Chief of the project at federal level and the Project Directors in the provinces. The new incumbents were forced in many ways handicapped because they had to start understanding the project from scratch. Several positions mentioned in the project document and approved by competent authority were not fulfilled. Issues like travelling and daily allowances lingered on unnecessarily and created frustration among the employees. The disbursement claims were not made in time. Similarly the maintenance of accounts was not according to intentional practice of codification. But the project management has to satisfy and fulfill the financial requirements of Federal Government, Provincial Governments and the lending agency, in this case, the World Bank. The researchers were not allowed to go to the field for spot checking of the data from the field. The understanding of the Provincial Project Directors of professional aspect of the project was minimal and they were unable to draw worthwhile lessons of their own from the research and evaluation component. The Provincial Directorates worked in isolation and could not generate community support which was important for the implementation of the project. The government procedures were so intricate and did not help in managing the project. It has become clear from the above that management situation was quite serious and grim for the project. Special procedures need to be worked out for implementing innovative projects of this nature.

Community Support: It is imperative to obtain community support for the successful implementation of any Basic Education programme. This project revealed that energizing and sustaining community support was a reciprocal understanding and it should become an explicit strategic objective in the follow on project. It was also established

through this project that the attitude of village people had changed considerably towards education because of improved transport facilities, access to newspaper, television, telephone, and a large number of overseas workers. The parents attached highest value to education but with an emphasis that the curriculum should teach to cope with practical problems. The supervision of primary schools were improved through the introduction of new tier of supervisors i.e. learning coordinator. But the project concluded that the primary school supervision should be brought into closer liaison with community institution i.e. Union Councils. The project also demonstrated that where the community was more supportive and enthusiastic the enrolment of children in primary schools and their retention increased between 32.7% to 94.3% within one year between 1982 to 1983.

Physical Facilities: The component of physical facilities was one of the biggest in the project because about 50% of the money was allocated to this category. It was found out through project evaluation that better school buildings, more and properly trained teachers, boundary walls, availability of teaching learning material had direct relationship in encouraging the enrolment and regular attendance of school children. The input of female teacher residences was a failure because in rural culture of Pakistan it was not possible for an unmarried female teacher to live alone in a school which was, in most of the cases, away from the main village. The additional rooms, new boundary walls and in some places new buildings were provided. But all these facilities were supplied in a piece meal fashion without any attempt to ensure that the provision was made at the places of greatest need. The project provided buildings here, tats there, furniture differentially and teacher's residences occasionally. In spite of these problems the additional classroom facility was a distinct success.

Teachers: The teacher of primary schools by and large did not understand the content of the curriculum. It was not

because of the lack of professional qualification but even with professional qualification they could hardly teach children. The project envisaged inservice training for teachers but due to the poor implementation, this training could not be provided. In some cases the teacher training was imparted but only for two/three days whereas project document it was planned for at least three weeks. The project concluded that teacher training was the most important element to bring any qualitative changes in primary education.

Supervision: The intervention of Learning Coordinator in the supervisory cadre of primary education was a considerable success. By the large it reduced significantly teacher absenteeism, increased the professional profile and aspirations of primary teachers, ensured a facility for teachers to share their problems are provided in some cases improved model of teaching. This did not mean that learning coordinators input was problem free. It was very difficult for the regular school management to accept learning coordinator as a part of supervisory structure because he was considered a threat to a stereotyped inspection. The learning coordinator taught and practiced the concept of professional supervision - a threat to inertia and incompetence. However the project suggested that it was necessary to establish a compatible working relationships with the administrative structure of the formal system.

Teaching Learning Material: Some learning material was provided to the project schools which included textbooks teaching kits, charts, and guide book for teachers. It was surprising to note that no systematic attempt was made to measure, in any objective way, the contribution of learning materials had made to children's achievement or to evaluate the quality of materials.

The major recommendation of the evaluation report of the primary education project that a follow-up project was necessary to ensure the momentum of this experiment. The

experiences and expertise obtained through the project was to be put to effective use for the next project of this nature.

Nai roshni schools

Introduction

Universalization of primary education has been a cherished objective of all the educational policies of Pakistan. The National Educational Policy laid special emphasis on adult and non-formal education. It has been recognized that the formal education system alone cannot meet the challenge of the universalization of education due to limited financial resources and other pressing demands. The target dates to achieve universal primary enrolment for boys 1979 and for girls by 1984 according to the education policy seemed impossible to be achieved. The Government of Pakistan, Ministry of Education, therefore, shifted the target dates to 1987 for boys and 1992 for girls.

In view of the difficulties and problems of access to children, an innovative programme of Nai Roshni schools was started. These kinds of programme have been successfully tried in some regional countries under the name of 'Drop-In' schools. In view of their experience the Nai Roshni Schools were started and operated in the existing primary school buildings in the afternoon because the buildings were not used. Full time teachers were employed to teach a condensed two year primary education curriculum. The programme intended to promote primary education and literacy through formal schooling.

Objectives

The Nai Roshni Schools were planned to achieve following objectives:

- To promote literacy rate by 50% by 1990 under the then Prime Minister's Five Point Programme.
- To provide a second chance to primary school dropouts.

- To increase access to school for those who could not go to primary schools for any reason.
- To provide primary education to higher age group through a condensed course of two years.

Strategy

The programme was launched in March, 1987. It was proposed to open 22,000 such schools over 3 cycles of 2 years each. This would aggregate to a target of 1.65 million students of 10-14 age group including boys and girls according to local needs. Over the first 3 years of implementation, the project would be experimental subject to formative evaluation. It was proposed that existing primary school buildings would be utilized for Nai Roshni schools thus generating, in a complementary way, resources for the school to cover repairs, maintenance and the development of materials. Twenty five students were to be enrolled in each school from different and varying backgrounds. Full time teachers were employed. It was anticipated that most of students enrolled would be from groups identified either as drop-outs or previously non-enrolled.

The Nai Roshni Schools offered to complete the 5 years primary school course in 2 years, which necessitated a set of textbooks, appropriate learning materials and innovative teaching methods. The 25 students recruited were divided into 4, 5 or 6 groups depending on the heterogeneity of ability, necessitating sub-group or individual teaching. There would be no summer vacation, although the schools were to be closed, for short periods only, during the sowing and harvesting seasons. The Nai Roshni pupils therefore would attend their school for 260 days a year, compared with the 180 days a year of children in the formal system.

The Nai Roshni Schools started functioning under a Resident Directorate in each Province, District Project Manager Office in each District with its branches, i.e. Tehsil Literacy Office in each Tehsil. In this way, five Resident Director

Offices, 85 District Project Manager Offices, and seven Offices in FATA were established to run this programme under the administrative control of Literacy and Mass Education Commission.

Conclusions

The Nai Roshni Schools were evaluated after one year i.e. 1988. It was not possible to measure the student achievement because the first cycle of the programme was of two years duration. However, the quantitative evaluation revealed that 98.2% of the total schools physically existed.

The most common among those were Government schools. Almost 75% of the Nai Roshni Schools had facilities like Sign-Board, Teacher's Chair, Table, Desks and Mats available. As regards the Admission/Withdrawal registers 83% were maintaining the registers.

It was noticed that at the national level 93.5% teachers were physically present at the school premises. However, in overall comparison, teachers were physically present in 100% in AJK whereas the situation was somewhat different as regards the Nai Roshni Schools of Sindh and NWFP Province. Only 9% of the total teachers had the qualifications of P.T.C. 87.1% of the teachers indicated that they had received training arranged by LAMEC. At the national level 74.3% of the teachers belonged to the same community whereas in Sindh 61% and in NWFP 66.1% of the teachers belonged to the same community. As regards the drop-outs, it was noticed that it differed from month to month and province. Most of the students attending the school were also enrolling in the age group of 15-19 and 20 years.

It was found that Nai Roshni Schools were being supervised and that supervisors had paid visits to the schools. However, supervisors were not paying the visits so frequently as was required of them in Nai Roshni Schools Project. Only 45.2% paid more than 3 visits in one month and 47.6% in

another month. The training of community representatives as well as the students ranked the Nai Roshni Schools Project very high across all provinces.

Students enrolled were also found in the age group of 15-19 and 20 years old. It could, therefore, be concluded that though the age limit in the present Nai Roshni Schools Project was fixed 10-14 years, students had been enrolled on the request of the community. Students above fourteen years old might not approach the schools simply when they knew the age limit fixed in the programme. There was fast turn over in enrollments in the Nai Roshni Schools. Every month some new students seek admission and some old ones dropped out. The "Nai Roshni" was not entirely a new concept. This kind of schooling had been working in several countries with success. There was no country that has dropped the programme after commencement. It went on with modifications with special emphasis on supervision and back up services.

IQRA Pilot project

Introduction

The IQRA Pilot Project was launched in October 1986 in the Districts of Islamabad and Rawalpindi under the administration of Literacy and Mass Education Commission. Prior to this project, several programmes of adult literacy were launched but the success rate was minimal. The literacy rate could not increase by 0.5% each year whereas the annual population growth rate was 3.1%. There were several reasons for the failure of literacy programmes. Some of those were (i) lack of motivation; (ii) out dated administrative structure; (iii) defective teaching techniques; (iv) lack of teaching-learning material and above all; (v) lack of resources.

Objectives

The concept of the IQRA Pilot Project was a simple and direct approach to the problem. A literate, irrespective of his or here

qualification, could volunteer and join the scheme to teach any number of illiterates, in his or her own time, and bring them to an acceptable level of literacy. The scheme aimed at producing 50,000 illiterates in one year from one district of federal territory of Islamabad, at a cost of Rs.1150 per literature.

The other objectives of the project were as follows:

- To adopt an approach based on monetary incentive to the teacher which would compel him in accomplishing his goal.
- To vector the energies of literates and illiterates of in one direction i.e. the struggle for the eradication of illiteracy as national movement.
- To evolve a strategy based on totally indigenous experiences without recouring to any foreign model, so that a workable and economical solution could be found for the eradication of illiteracy in Pakistani environment.
- Since past efforts based on person to person contact or motivation through mass media have very successful, a cadre of self interested motivators to solve the problem was created.

Strategy

Despite the simplicity of the concept the strategy was perforce complex and stringent. The main components were as follows:

- The plan was predominantly result-oriented because it rewarded a teacher handsomely for the labour/effort he or she put-in, to make one or more persons literate.
- Emphasis on the monitoring of the scheme was an extraordinary feature of the project, concept and plan. The teacher who volunteered had to prove the credentials of the illiterate(s) presented as candidate(s) qualified through a prescribed test for becoming literate(s).
- In order to catch the imagination of the masses, the plan was based on an intensive motivation campaign with the help of-the mass media.

- It envisaged evoking awareness and mass response from the people for accelerating the pace of literacy drive in the country.
- The programme wanted to develop a technique which fully tool into consideration the national social trends, aspirations and above all the adverse effect of mass illiteracy on the socio-economic development.

Conclusions

- 1) The Iqra Pilot Project overwhelmingly attracted females to become literate. This reflects very clearly that the cultural attitudes towards female education are very positive for the development of education in rural areas.
- 2) In spite of the fact that the project was for adult illiterates but it attracted relatively younger age group between 9-20 years which comprised 59.49% of those who enrolled in the project.
- 3) 65% adult literates who enrolled in the project belonged to rural areas and 35% were from urban areas.
- 4) Time taken to literate a person varied from one month to more than six months. 20.42% of the neo-literate took three months to acquire the literacy skills, while 33.76% took 6 months and 40.24% spent more than 6 months to become literate.
- 5) The most effective motivational campaign was through T.V. and Radio followed by peer group influence and relatively small number of illiterates decided on its own to join the project.
- 6) Only 12% of the neoliterates tool the oath that they were illiterate before joining Iqra Pilot Project.
- 7) Another 12% also produced either identity cards with thump impression that can be interpreted as indicator of their illiteracy or Form-B of their parents registration which also pointed out their illiteracy status.

- 8) Approximately 11% of the parents testified about the illiteracy of their wards.
- 9) 65% of the people could not provide any evidence prescribed by the evaluation team of their "illiteracy status" prior to joining the project.

The project was not properly implemented and serious deficiencies were found in its monitoring. There was no convincing evidence that the majority of students enrolled in the project were illiterate before joining the project.

Conclusions

I. Implementation

One of the major findings of this case study is the poor implementation of different Education Programmes/Projects. This is because of over rigidity of the system which does not allow mid stream adjustments or modifications. The IQRA Project was badly implemented and serious deficiencies were found in its monitoring. The achievement claimed by Literacy & Mass Education Commission were far below the proclaimed figures. The actual number made literate through the project at best was 17% or 2780 persons. The financial expenditure on this activity was Rs. 5881/- per illiterate instead of Rs.1150/- as originally calculated in the project. In READ Project, a part time Project Director was appointed all through the duration of the programme. He had to perform several other responsibilities hence could not concentrate on the proper implementation of the project. Three out of the four projects under analysis were delayed which increased escalation costs of the programmes. In the PEP by and large the Project Directors in the provinces did not allow its staff to go to the field to monitor the implementation of the project. The Nai Roshni School programme was better implemented and the quantitative evaluation revealed very positive results. The programme was discontinued for the reasons best known to the authorities.

2. Management

It is a matter of common knowledge that the management skills of middle level administrators in the education sector are extremely limited. This was evident from the PEP in which the management framework was too loose and could not ensure its execution effectively. The concept of team with common objectives and share aspiration did not take place. Several employees who were given on the job training left their jobs or were transferred to other positions. In the IQRA Pilot Project the managerial laxities wasted scarce resources. It was clearly laid down in the project document that only illiterate persons will only be registered with Literacy and Mass Education Commission. But it turned out that 65% of those who enrolled as illiterates were already literates. The fake registration was a major management flaw. The Nai Roshni Schools also suffered problems. As these schools were operating in the afternoon in the existing primary school buildings which created rivalry over authority and responsibility. The appointment of teachers were made on political basis hence the competence and merit were ignored. In the project READ number of villages were increased in the project but there was no increase in supervisory staff commensurate with the increase in the area of operation. The lack of qualified and inadequate staff posed a serious management problem.

3. Planning

The planning by and large of four projects have been sporadic and not based on adequate research. In the PEP female teacher residences were constructed in some of the experimental schools with the intentions that teachers would stay there hence the teacher absenteeism will be reduced. But it was not fully researched that in Pakistan rural culture it is not possible for an unmarried female to live in school accommodation without proper protection and particularly when most of the schools, where the residences were built, were away from the main village. Similarly the transport facilities were provided for

supervision. But it was not envisaged that the transport for the project has to be obtained through international bidding which involves complicated and long procedures. This input was delayed by two years in a five years project. As a result the impact of one of the major inputs was not properly studied. While planning Nai Roshni Schools the provincial governments were neither consulted nor taken into confidence. They did not own the programme which was to be implemented in the provincial primary schools. Similarly the planning of Nai Roshni was done in such way to make this effort as an employment project instead of education project. In the IQRA project which provided financial incentive of Rs.1000/- for teacher to make one person literate but there was no financial motivation for illiterate. The planning of READ project was over ambitious. The number of components could be three instead five/six. The planning of most of the project was done without obtaining enough information from the expected project areas and clientele.

4. Monitoring

Every project document does refer to the importance of monitoring for the successful implementation of the projects. No explicit mechanism was provided to monitor the project except that the utilization of funds were monitored only to satisfy the bureaucracy that the money was spent. Whether the expenditure made on the component as planned, was less important. The monitoring in these projects were done irregularly and in non-professional ways. In READ project the supervisory staff was occasional visitors to the project site only with a purpose of bureaucratic inspection. In the primary education project monitoring system was better probably because the lending agency, World Bank, was strict in this regard. In spite of that the project staff was quite reluctant to leave the provincial capitals whereas the project schools were in rural areas and difficult terrains. In the IQRA pilot adequate transport facilities were provided for monitoring, however the

use was misdirected which was proved from the results i.e. 65% literates were registered as illiterates in the project.

5. Resource constraint

In a developing country like Pakistan the financial and technical resources are limited and likely to remain so in future. Interestingly enough none of the four projects which have been analyzed suffered from any financial resources constraints but still the success rate was modest. Only Primary Education Project has been expanded on large scale with some modifications whereas the IQRA Project, Nai Roshni Schools and READ Project have been abandoned so far. There have been delays in the releases of funds but the management problems were quite serious during the implementation of the projects. It was not only the scarcity of the financial resources but the poor management of resources were responsible for wastage. The funds have three stages which include allocations, releases and expenditure. Usually the allocations have been referred as the funds available for the program but most of the time releases are not made either because of lack of funds at a particular time or procedural and codal formalities are so rigid that whatever little was available lapses. The releases sometimes were not fully backed by the appropriate expenditure in the right direction and for that particular programme. It was not uncommon to spend the money of one head against the other which will easily absorb the funds and make it visible e.g. purchase of vehicle instead building a two room school.

The four projects in the case study did not confront serious delays in financial releases. It may be interesting to note that several lending and donor agencies have provided more than half billion US Dollars for Basic Education with a thrust on Primary Education. The World Bank ended US\$ 217.5 million, Asian Development Bank gave a loan US\$ 64.4 million, United States Agency for International Development provided grant in aid of US\$ 280 million, UNICEF US\$ 5.2,

CIDA C\$ 19.24 and some other small grants have been received. This entire amount of money became available and is to be expanded within the next 8 years. It is strongly urged that financial resources are available but their use has to be efficient and effective.

6. Research and development

The planning of education in Pakistan is more prone to social stratification than social mobility, partly because the planners apprehend that the outdated education system which is in practice won't accept any innovations or changes. But this does not deter the planners to suggest structural changes in the system, to redistribute educational opportunities and bring qualitative orientation in the Basic Education Programmes.

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